Quaid-i-Azam

by

M. A. HARRIS

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RAISON D'etre

That it has fallen to the lot of Pakistan Peoples Party Government to conceive, plan and execute the QUAID-I-AZAM BIRTH DAY CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS is a landmark in our national history. Not that its predecessors could not think on the lines of some Jubilee celebrations for the Quaid or that they were hardpressed for time. The simple reason is that none could fix priorities in terms of national events and evaluate importance thereof.

An instance in point is the notice of a resolution given by Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in 1951, seeking to appoint a non-official committee of research scholars to investigate the correct date of Quaid-i-Azam's birth in view of the importance of the Sind Madressah records "recently unearthed."

It is on record that the President of the Constituent Assembly disallowed the resolution under Rule 22 of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly (Legislature) Rules "......in that it relates to a matter which is not primarily the concern of the Government of Pakistan."

In refreshing contrast to this attitude is the policy of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to observe intellectual integrity in projecting Quaid-i-Azam's place in national life which was the hallmark of Quaid's career from cradle to the grave. Towards this end, the Governmental efforts to translate his ideals into reality, is only the beginning which, as emphasised by Mr. Bhutto, could succeed to the extent to which people's consciousness was heightened.

Against this background, an attempt has been made in this *pot-pourri* to collect and preserve material on the various aspects

of Quaid-i-Azam's life published from 1940 onwards in permanent or fugitive form. A study of these pages may stir old memories; however, to what extent it will inspire the young in the direction of viewing Quaid-i-Azam's personality in correct perspective so as to fashion their own lives in his mould, will depend upon the intellectual calibre of the individual reader.

The production has been hurried through in order to keep up to the Centenary schedule. Errors and lapses, omission and commission are, therefore, condonable and will stand corrected, should an opportunity be provided *de novo*.

My genuine and not customary thanks are due to D. C. Bensley, Esq. Managing Director and my friend, Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad Bhutta, Director, Sales & Marketing, Brooke Bond Pakistan Ltd., for their active co-operation in the publication of this miscellany; to Mr. Sharifuddin Pirzada, Attorney, Supreme Court of Pakistan, for his help and advice; and to the Times Press, Karachi for their commendable despatch in transforming the manuscript into the eternity of print.

December 9, 1976

M. A. HARRIS
"L-AIJAZ", 6 P.E.C.H.S.,
Karachi-29.

PRINTED AT THE TIMES PRESS, KARACHI

BHUTTO'S CALL TO PROJECT QUAID'S IDEALS TO WORLD

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said yesterday that his Government has decided to disseminate the message and thoughts of the Quaid-i-Azam in every nook and corner of the country and to re-orientate the thinking of the intellectuals and practice of the politicians along the path that was carved out by the Father of the Nation.

Inaugurating the deliberations of the National Committee for the centenary celebrations of the Quaid-i-Azam, he pointed out the significance of these celebrations in the context of Pakistan's political evolution and in face of the challenges of the contemporary situation.

The Prime Minister emphasised that allegiance to the Quaid should mean fidelity to the principles which he espoused vigorously in his life and the values which he promoted consistently in his career.

Giving examples of how the Quaid-i-Azam's thoughts and works had been distorted and misrepresented under earlier regimes in Pakistan, Prime Minister Bhutto enjoined the observance of intellectual integrity in projecting Quaid-i-Azam's place in national life.

Governmental efforts to translate Quaid-i-Azam's ideals into reality, he said, could succeed to the extent to which people's consciousness was heightened.

He said the first birth centenary of the Quaid-i-Azam in 1976 called for reappraisal of the situation and rededication to the national cause.

The Prime Minister pointed out that programme was planned at a very momentous time. He was confident that the people would join unitedly to give the centenary programme a meaning which was compatible with national traditions and aspirations in the reality of today.

The Prime Minister said that the Quaid-i-Azam would be projected to the rest of the world in a manner that his place among the leading statesmen of the 20th Century was duly recognised. All this, he observed, would depend on the vigour with which the programme to be evolved today was implemented—PPI.

AUTHENTIC BIOGRAPHY OF QUAID PLANNED

The National Committee to supervise and plan the arrangements for celebrating the centenary of the Quaid-i-Azam next year held its first meeting in Karachi yesterday under the chairmanship of Prime Minister, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, and considered a number of proposals, including the publication of an authentic biography of the Father of the Nation.

Conference sources said the question of publication of the biography was discussed at length and it was desired that well-known authors and those associated with the Quaid-i-Azam be commissioned to write the biography which should be published in Urdu, English, Bengali and all major foreign languages.

Other proposals considered by the Committee were the holding of meetings in rotation in all Provincial capitals at least once a month. commemorative stamps and coins to be issued by the Government of Pakistan, and efforts to persuade friendly countries to issue similar stamps; award of medals to scientists, agriculturists, educationists and others for their achievements in national life; cancellation of stamps with the post mark "Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Centenary 25th December 1976", construction of Jinnah Memorial Hall in Karachi and other Provincial capitals; a levy of Rs. one per head by the earning population and the utilisation of funds thus raised for the setting up of universities and colleges to honour

the memory of the Quaid-i-Azam; plaques at all the places where the Quaid-i-Azam stayed in Pakistan; creation of special awards like Eisenhower Awards, Pulitzer Prize etc. in specialised fields; and running of special trains displaying photographs and the personal effects of the Father of the Nation throughout the country.

PM's Directive

PPI adds: A working paper based on proposals made by various members of the National Committee was considered and details of its implementation were left to the Executive Committee.

The Prime Minister directed that membership of the Executive Committee be enlarged to associate with its deliberations eminent non-officials who were known to the Quaid-i-Azam.

The Committee, therefore, decided that an appeal be made to the people of Pakistan and Pakistanis living abroad to participate fully in this national effort to reclaim the heritage bequeathed by the Father of the Nation.

It was also decided that the Executive Committee should meet as soon as possible to work out a detailed programme based on the principles approved by the National Committee yesterday.

The Committee also considered a number of proposals including a programme of publications, establishment of Quaid-i-Azam Academy and Research Institute, the institution of Quaid-i-Azam Chair in various universities in Pakistan and abroad, the establishment of monuments to the memory of the Quaid-i-Azam and the institution of Quaid-i-Azam Memorial Lectures.

Besides the Federal Education Minister, Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, who is also the Vice-Chairman of the Committee, the meeting was attended by Mr. Habibullah Khan, Chairman of the Senate; Sahibzada Farooq Ali, Speaker National Assembly, Federal Ministers Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Maulana Kausar Niazi, and Mr. Yusuf Khattak; Chief Ministers of NWFP, Sind and Baluchistan—

Mr. Nasrullah Khan Khattak, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, and Jam Ghulam Qadir; President, Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim; Special Assistant to the Prime Minister for Information Mr. M. Yusuf Buch; Adviser to Ministry of Information, Pir Ali Mohammad Rashidi and Secretary Information, Mr. Nasim Ahmad.

Others who attended the meeting included Federal Cabinet Secretary, Mr. Mohammad Nawaz; Consultant, Cultural Affairs, Ministry of Education, Mr. Faiz Ahmed Faiz; Chairman, National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, Prof. K. K. Aziz; Vice-Chancellors of Islamabad, Punjab, Baluchistan, Karachi, Peshawar and Sind Universities and Agricultural University of Lyallpur; Acting Vice-Chancellor, Jamia Islamia, Bahawalpur and prominent persons connected with Quaid's life, like Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Mr. Ahmad E.H. Jaffer, Mr. Husain Imam etc.

"*Dawn*" *August* 27 1975.

THE QUAID-I-AZAM CENTENARY

To say that even after 27 years of his death, there is need for making special efforts to disseminate the message and thoughts of the Quaid-i-Azam among the people may sound a bit curious. But, as things are, the need is very much there. For, although we remember the Quaid-i-Azam, the founder of the State, at least on four formal occasions every year and our politicians swear by his name whenever it suits their purpose, we have failed to follow his teachings in ordering our national and corporate affairs. It was the nations's misfortune to have lost the benefit of his guidance only a year after its birth. His passing away at that time was a tragedy of the highest magnitude. But though the nation lost him, it was still in possession of his bequest. His teachings remained as did his personal example. And yet Pakistan strayed from the path of national unity and democracy, the consequences of which became fully manifest in the tagic events of 1971. His constant warnings against the dangers of regionalism, parochialism and racial or linguistic fanaticism were

forgotten by not a few of the people upon whom had fallen the responsibility of continuing with his mission. Instead, in their scramble for power they did not hesitate even to imperil national stability and cohesion. Leaders whose bounden duty it was to scrupulously follow the examples of the Quaid in both their personal and public lives, did not do so. Naturally, they failed to carry conviction when they invoked the teachings of the Father of the Nation. The catastrophic events of 1971, however, set in motion a process of national introspection in residual Pakistan and once again reminded the people of the imperative need to study and comprehend his teachings. Prime Minister Bhutto showed due awareness of this need when he spoke of the Government's resolve to spread the Quaid's message on the widest scale among the common people as well as intellectuals and leaders of opinion. The Quaid's centenary falls at a time when there is a general reawakening of interest in the restoration of his legacy. That is why everyone will agree with the Prime Minister's observation that in the context of Pakistan's political evolution and in the face of the challenges of the contemporary situation, the celebrations assume great significance. It is heartening to know that the National Committee for the celebrations has chalked out an elaborate programme for the purpose. It is only proper that the programme should be finalised and implemented in the spirit of intellectual honesty of which the Quaid-i-Azam was a true exemplar. In fact one of the main reasons why the Quaid's teachings could not make the impact that they should have made was the lack of intellectual honesty on the part of some of those who were supposed to be responsible for propagating his message. To be true to his bequest means to be faithful to the principles that he practised. The Quaid stood for the rule of law, for freedom and democracy, for social justice and for discipline and ordered progress. Now in different given situations there could be a divergence of opinion on how these principles should be interpreted and applied. If this happens, who is to decide upon how his teachings are to be interpreted. The answer is that it is the people as a whole, who are the legatees, and not the political elites at a given point of time who should determine by consensus what the correct interpretation shall be. This presupposes a high level of understanding of the Quaid's principles on the part of the community. This, in turn, calls for the widest possible

dissemination of his thoughts as contained in his writings, speeches and letters. Equally does it call for a proper presentation to the people of authentic accounts of his political struggle and of his code of public and private conduct. Only thus can the people's consciousness be heightened and only thus can his thoughts become a material force. The object of the widest possible dissemination of his inspiring life-story and his message can best be achieved through the compilation and distribution of an authentic and standard biography of the Quaid-i-Azam. Unfortunately, even after 27 years of his death we do not have such a biography.

Until some time ago the work had been rendered extremely difficult by allowing valuable papers relating to the life and times of the Quaid-i-Azam to remain scattered all over the country and abroad. Happily, most of these have since been collected, examined and classified by the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Cell of the Federal Ministry of Education. These can now be made available to historians of the Pakistan movement and biographers of the Quaid-i-Azam for compiling a standard and authoritative biography which can serve as a source of material for subsequent writings on the thoughts and accomplishments of the Quaid-i-Azam.

"*Dawn*" *Thursday, August* 28, 1975.

QUAID'S CENTENARY

My attention was drawn to the fact that a Committee sponsored by Mohtarama Shirin Bai was formed about a year ago to celebrate Quaid's Centenary. As Constitution Adviser to Quaid-i-Azam my assistance to such a project can be of great use.

On my return from U.K. recently I see that Government too have constituted a bigger organisation for the purpose.

In my humble opinion we should have one single organisation to offer our highest appreciation of Quaid's selfless service to the nation and of his real stature among world statesmen.

Karachi. *M. B. Ahmed.*

QUAID ACADEMY'S DIRECTOR

Islamabad, Jan. 8; Mr. Shariful Mujahid, Professor of Journalism, Karachi University, has been designated as Director of the Quaid-i-Azam Academy which will start functioning shortly at Karachi.

The Academy, it may be mentioned, has been established in pursuance of the decision of the National Committee for Quaid-i-AzamCentenary Celebrations. The Academy has been entrusted with a wide ranging scope of activities which include research and publications on the life of the Father of the Nation, compilation of an authentic biography in serial volumes and collection and preservation of the Quaid's papers and documents.—PPI.

"*Dawn*" *9th Jaunary*, 1976.

QUAID'S CENTENARY

As the current year draws to a close in the wake of the Quaid-i-Azam's 99th birthday, the formal declaration that 1976 will be his Centenary year sets the pace for the appropriate observance of the great occasion. The programme announced at a Press conference by the Chairman of the Executive Committee in charge of the celebrations takes in its sweep a fairly comprehensive catalogue of undertakings. Although each one of these is significant, the most prestigious of them all because of its enduring nature is the decision to set up an academy named after the great leader. A building to house it near his mausoleum will naturally take time to be completed, and the idea to acquire a suitable temporary headquarter in Karachi. his birthplace—speaks of the earnestness with which the task is sought to be accomplished. Its board of directors comprises eminent personalities some of whom had the privilege of being closely associated with the Quaid. The importance attached to this particular project is further underlined by the fact that the Prime Minister—who is the Chairman of the National Committee—will be requested to become its President. As conceived, it is intended to be

an "expanding and growing concern devoted to the promotion of study and research not only on the various aspects of the Quaid's life, works and achievements but also on the cultural, social, economic and political aspects of the history of Pakistan".

The priority that the compilation of the Quaid's authentic biography deserves in the context of the centenary celebrations is obvious. The task will brook no more delay. Assuming that the source material is well preserved, much of it is still scattered and some of it is in the possession of unidentified private individuals. The proposed academy will be in a position to assemble the record at one place and make fresh acquisitions, provided it moves quickly to contact the repositories of as yet untraced records. More urgently the memories of old and ailing companions of the departed leader must be recorded with the utmost despatch and in the minutest possible details. Without their elaborate recollections information concerning the first two phases of his life, namely, 1906 to 1920 and 1920 to 1935 might never be complete. Quite a few of them will be in India and England. There may even be gaps in the information available about happenings in the period between 1940 and 1947.

In this connection the utterances of Lord Mountbatten — the last Viceroy of undivided India who presided over the Partition proceedings — particularly his latest interview with the BBC Television in which he made many startling and transparently twisted statements must be taken immediate notice of. His derogatory remarks, which were calculated to portray "Mr. Jinnah" as a "most austere and cold character" and one motivated by negative considerations, will not bear scrutiny if the record is put straight by those who know and the context is properly explained. Obviously the so-called dynamic and pragmatic Englishman sent out by Whitehall to settle the destiny of the sub-continent has neither forgotten nor forgiven his discomfiture at being deprived of his ambition to end up as the last Governor-General of both the dominions — a deprivation for which he holds the Quaid-i-Azam personally responsible. That this bitterness should have crept into his system and stayed there reveals his calibre and capacity for objective thinking in a lurid light. Another blatant falsehood mouthed by Mountbatten regard-

ing the supposed threat to kill the Quaid-i-Azam during the independence ceremony in Karachi on August 14, 1947 and the insinuation that Quaid was afraid and his royal companion on the drive 'brought him back alive' should and could be exposed by a reference to records and the persons then responsible for the administration of Karachi. Illustrative of the same distorted and warped outlook is the latest publication on the subject of partition entitled "Freedom at Midnight." Judging from the excerpts that appeared in Press this is yet another attempt to malign "Mr. Jinnah" and raise the stature of his rivals on the political scene. These and other baser bids to hide the truth and hoodwink world opinion must be met pointedly and conclusively.

Among other highlights of the Centenary year the 100 books billed for publication — 40 of them original — call for the maximum care to make them worthy of the subject. The renaming of the Islamabad University as the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah University will be widely greeted. Setting up of chairs after his name in various Universities at home—and if possible abroad—would further the research programme. The International Congress where scholars of repute are expected to read papers on the Quaid-i-Azam will be eagerly looked forward to. But in order to make these celebrations more meaningful and representative the whole nation must participate in them by re-dedicating itself to the principles that he stood for. In his teachings we have the best prescription for the consolidation, stability and progress of Pakistan. Being loyal to his teachings is the best way of honouring his memory. This is the kind of homage he richly deserves and would have loved most.

"*Dawn*" *Monday, December* 29, 1975

CORRESPONDENCE

Your editorial of December 29, on the Quaid's Centenary celebrations serves to spotlight many a lacuna in the otherwise laborious plans to observe the national event under Government patronage.

Vis-a-viz the compilation of the Quaid's authentic biography, you correctly state that a part of the source-material "is in the possession of unidentified private individuals" some of whom may have passed away and quite a few may still be alive either in Pakistan, India or elsewhere.

Unless a clarion call is issued through the Press and various other publicity media requesting the persons concerned to participate in the supreme national task, such source-material may never see the light of day.

As appropriately suggested by you, "the memoirs of old and aling companions of the departed leader must be recorded....". In this context, apart from the names of the prominent and well-known leaders of the Pakistan Movement, the following humble individuals also crop up to mind who had the honour of being the Quaid-i-Azam's class fellows in the Sind-Madressah-tul-Islam, Karachi;

(1) Karim Cassum, (2) Monsaf Ebrahimjee, (3) Abdul Hussain Sullaimanjee, (4) Allidina Haroon, (5) Akbarali Delawarali, (6) Datoo Md. Jaffer, (7) Karim Jaffer, (8) Khuda Bux Allarukhia and (9) Mohamed Usman Nujmuddin.

Concerted efforts must be made to trace the families and/or successors of this galaxy of the Quaid's companions, their memoirs recorded and relevant documentary material, if available, acquired on payment. This may necessitate the setting up of a special "Cell" manned by extraordinarily energetic staff capable of taking time by the forelock.

As regards your comments on Lord Louis Mountbatten's (the Hustler Viceroy's) digs at the Quaid and the concoctions contained

in the egregious publication 'Freedom at Midnight', these are none too soon in the day. The nation which has suffered—in fact financed, circulated and welcomed—books like Bolitho's biography of the Quaid must thank itself for publications like the former.

Of all the Quaid's biographies published so far, Bolitho's book bristles with erroneous details and is stuffed with blunders well-nigh Himalayan which I have exposed time and again. What is more, this foreign author was boycotted by Miss Fatima Jinnah who refused to give him an audience. It is in situations like these that one is reminded of the name of Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas of Bombay who has produced magnum opus like "India's Fight for Freedom" and "Ten Years to Freedom" which contain, inter alia, a thorough and most authentic account of the Quaid's political achievements.

Mr. Dawarkadas had known the Quaid-i-Azam since 1916 when he was 24 and the Quaid 43. Their friendship and intimacy continued till the Quaid's death did them part in 1948. Such a person deserves to preside over any committee appointed to compile the Quaid's authentic biography.

Karachi. *M. A Harris.*

This refers to the letter by Mr. M. A. Harris in your issue of Jan. 9.

Mr. Harris has suggested that Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas, a very close friend of the Quaid-i-Azam should preside over the committee to compile factual details of the Quaid's life.

I regret to inform Mr. Harris and your readers that Mr. Dwarkadas expired in Bombay last year. He was a labour relations expert of great merit and was rather handicapped for several years prior to his death on account of failing eyesight.

I had met him in 1967 for a few hours and heard his delightful reminiscences with the Quaid-i-Azam. Incidentally, he has written a small book on "Rutie Jinnah".

Karachi. *Salim M. Kara.*

I am grateful to Mr. Salim M. Kara for having confirmed my lurking doubts about the lifespan of Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas vide his letter in your issue of Jan. 23. Had the author been alive he would have attained the Biblical longevity of four-score and over in this year of grace which is uncommon in the tropical zones.

I have now on good authority that the late Mr. Dwarkadas had in his life-time donated to the Pennsylvania University some three hundred files containing documentary material concerning the Quaid-i-Azam.

In this treasure, there is a directory published from Calcutta in 1926 cataloguing the names of major industrial establishments. The Quaid-i-Azam was listed as a prominent share-holder of Messrs Tata Steel, Bombay Dyeing and Bombay Electric Supply and Tramway Co., in which the Quaid's total investment stood to the tune of Rs. 14 lakhs.

Such and other rare facts vis-a-vis the Quaid's life and achievements can be culled with benefit if a team of zealous researchers is deputed to go through the store-house of information deposited at the Pennsylvania archives.

Will the Chairman of the Executive Committee in Charge of the Centenary Celebrations kindly consider the proposal.

Karachi. *M. A. Harris.*

Mr. M. A. Harris, suggestion in your issue of February 1 to send a team of research scholars to Pennsylvania University in order to collect valuable material on Quaid-i-Azam's life is eminently practical and should be implemented by the concerned authority. Similarly, if the following three books are reprinted in Pakistan after completing legal formalities, love's labour of late Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas will not have been lost; Ruttie Jinnah, India's Fight for Freedom, Ten Years to Freedom.

Karachi. *Mumtazally.*

QUAID - I - AZAM IN 1943



Left to Right — M. A. Harris Prof. S. H. Naqvi Quaid - i - Azam Miss Fatima Jinnah

QUAID - I - AZAM With Members of Ismail Yusuf College Hostel Parliament, Monday 1st February, 1943



QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIOGRAPHIES

By M. A. Harris.

The publication of an authentic biography of the Father of the Nation has always been an aspiration rather than an achievement not only with the various governments but also with the common people of Pakistan.

It was in the year 1951 that the Central Ministry of Education had announced that it would bring out a comprehensive and up-to-date biography of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. This was followed by the visit of Mr. Hector Bolitho who has since been generally acclaimed as the official biographer of Baba-i-Millat (Father of the Nation).

The labours of this renowned author saw the light of day in the form of a 244-page book published by John Murry Ltd., of Great Britain. It is a record of Mr. Jinnah's "Life and Achievement" divided into eight parts on which the author claims to have worked for two years.

The chapter dealing with the Quaid-i-Azam's early life and education may easily be termed piece de resistance of the book. What is, however, painfully surprising in this connection is the fact that the biographer seems to have relied mainly on the data contained in certain books without having taken the trouble of delving deeper into the matter and sifting the grain of truth from the chaff of hearsay.

It is in situations like these that the reader realises the supreme importance of consultations with the late Madar-i-Millat the benefit of which Mr. Bolitho either denied himself or could not avail of. For example, he quotes an extract about Quaid's early life from an article published in "The Illustrated Weekly of Pakistan" of 10th September, 1950. Mr. Bolitho termed this as emanating from an anonymous author. He could have easily found that the article had

originally appeared in the "FREEDOM" of 11th September, 1949 and was written by Prof. Mrs. Rafia Sharifuddin Peerzada after a detailed interview with Miss Jinnah. He also did not tap a number of available authentic sources.

1875 or 1876 : Starting with the date of birth, Bolitho says "The date is uncertain; in the Register of his school, in Karachi, the date is recorded as October 20, 1875; but Jinnah always said that he had been born on Christmas Day — a Sunday — in 1876." Thus, what should have been the starting point of all further investigations about the life of the Quaid, has been disposed of in two sentences. The result is that instead of being an authentic account of Quaid's career, the book bristles with erroneous details which could easily have been avoided with a little research and approach to proper quarters.

The fact that the Quaid-i-Azam was born on October 20, 1875, a date recorded in the Sind Madressah, was for the first time brought to light in my pamphlet, "QUAID-I-AZAM — WHAT IS HIS DATE OF BIRTH?", published in 1950. Mr. Bolitho who albeit consulted the booklet, did not acknowledge it.

The biographer would do well to know that the 25th of December, 1876 did not fall on a Sunday. A reference to the last Century's Calendar available in the local High Court of Sind and Baluchistan would reveal that it fell on a Monday.

He did "Little Go" — not Matriculation: About the Quaid's education in India, the author states: "The time came when Muhammad Ali Jinnah had to go forth into the world — armed only with his Matriculation from the Bombay University, gained at the Mission School, and his determination to stand up from the dust." This is entirely incorrect. The Quaid's education in India did not go beyond STD V.

A scrutiny of the General Register of the Sind Madressah shows that he was admitted to STD I as an ex-student of Anjuman-e-Islam, Bombay on 23-12-1887. At that time he was 12-year—2

month—4 day old. Master Jinnah then did not know English and attested his age in the relevant column of the Register by signing in Gujrati. The name "MAMAD", his pet name, can be clearly seen in the Register as also in the Court stamp.

This indicates that the Register was produced as an Exhibit in a Civil Court as a proof of his "only one boyhood visit to a law court with his father", as stated by Bolitho who has been unable to secure documentary evidence of this incident or the details thereof. These have fortunately been redeemed by Syed Sharifuddin Peerzada, ex-Foreign Minister of Pakistan, after a laborious search in the various archives.

It is also clear that January the 5th, 1891 saw a break in his studies, the reason for withdrawal from the school having been paradoxically stated as "LONG ABSENCE". He returned to the Alma Mater on the 9th of February, 1891 and his final departure from the Madressah came on 30th of January, 1892.

The Register records that at that time he was a student of STD V, and the reason for withdrawal in the "Remarks column" has been stated as "Left for Cutch on marriage". That he did not rejoin the Sind Madressah after his marriage is evident from the foregoing. Most probably he was admitted, as Mrs Naidu says, "to the Mission School of his native city." But the period of his association with that institution could not have been very long. At any rate, it was extremely shortlived; for, as pointed out above, it was on 30th of January, 1892 that he is shown as having left for marriage. Besides, it is in the same year that he was sent to England. This has been confirmed by Miss Jinnah with whom I had a thorough discussion as to the authenticity of the Sind Madressah documents. Miss Jinnah corroborated that the Quaid was sent abroad soon after his marriage and that then he was studying in STD V.

In view of the above, it is very strange that Bolitho should have categorically stated that he passed his Matriculation examination from the Bombay University. The fact is that he passed the customary "Little Go" examination and not the Matriculation in the Uni-

ted Kingdom to enable him to prosecute his law studies.

Who is correct? Referring to the Quaid as "A STUDENT IN LONDON", the author states, "The ledgers kept at Lincoln's Inn in the 1890's were given for salvage during the 1939—45 war; the contemporary shipping lists no longer exist, and Jinnah's English bankers lost their records during a bombing raid. There seems to be no way of finding out when or how he came to England, except that the year was 1892."

I wonder what is the source of Bolitho's information that the ledgers kept at Lincoln's Inn in the 1890's were given for salvage during the 2nd world war. I am reproducing below the true copy of a letter received by me from Lincoln's Inn in February 1951:

Dear Sir — With reference to your letter of the 4th instant enclosing the booklet concerning the late Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

On inspection of this Society's records, I find that Mr. Jinnah was admitted to this Society on the 25th June 1893 and at that time gave his age as being 19 years. At the time of admission no students are required to give their date of birth. I am sorry I cannot give you any further information on this matter.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd) H. C. H. Fairchild, Under Treasurer.

In view of the foregoing, it passes comprehension how the author states elsewhere in the same context that the 1876 birth date is also given "in the records of the Law Society." If he is correct, the Under Treasurer is wrong; and if the ledgers kept at Lincoln's Inn were given for salvage and could not, therefore, be available, the question is which documents of the Law Society did the biographer consult to dig out 1876 as the year of Quaid's birth ?

Jinnahbhai or Jinnah: It appears Bolitho has relied more on personal accounts rendered by people with fading memory and on his own fertile imagination than on documentary evidence. This is

also borne out by another mis-statement when he says:

"Upto April 1894, Muhammad Ali Jinnah had used his boyhood name Jinnahbhai — bhai being a suffix used in the Gujrati language which was his mother tongue. On April 14, 1894 he adopted the English fashion in name and became Mr. Jinnah, the form he used for the rest of his life."

Now, the records of the Sind Madressah where he was admitted on 23-12-1887 clearly show at serial No. 178 that his boyhood name from the very beginning was, Mahomed Ali Jinnah and not Jinnahbhai. Even his pet name at home was "MAMAD" and not Jinnahbhai.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's description of the Quaid as "the eldest son of a rich merchant — reared in careless affluence" has been characterised as false by the author. He has tried to suggest that the Quaid sprang from an ordinary middle class family. For his information and guidance, I would quote the following from "The Sind Gazette" of May 10, 1900 published from Karachi:

Mr. Jinnah's Appointment: "The Khoja community of Karachi is to be congratulated on the appointment of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah to be the Third Presidency Magistrate of Bombay. He is the son of Mr. Jinnah who is one of the old and most respected merchants of Karachi. Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah passed the Bar examination when he was quite young and was on his return enrolled as an advocate of the Bombay High Court."

ALLANA'S BOOK: The latest addition to the writings on the Quaid is Mr. G. Allana's, "Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah — The Story of a Nation". It is regrettable that the Pakistani author, instead of presenting an accurate account of the life of the Quaid, has built up a thesis of his own on the religious aspect of leader's life which seems to be based on hearsay and conjecture. The author has not fully exploited the vast store-house of valuable material going abegging on the book shelves. If he has done it he has not acknowledged the source.

There are many anecdotes in the book which have been quoted verbatim from Mr. Dwarkadas' "Rutti Jinnah"; but there is no mention of the famous Indian author. Similarly, the details regarding the Quaid's date of birth have been bodily lifted from my Pamphlet published in 1950 by Messrs. Taj Co., Ltd; Karachi., Syed Sharif-uddin Peerzada's "Evolution of Pakistan" and the books of other authors have not been cited in the bibliography although Mr. Allana has drawn heavily on these valuable publications.

Mr. M. H. Saiyid's biography of the Quaid is a mere political study published before partition. Mr. V. N. Naik had also produced a political study on the eve of partition: Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas wrote about Mrs. Jinnah and also a good deal concerning Quaid's political achievements in his books entitled "India's Fight For Freedom" and "Ten Years to Freedom". However, there is no authoritative book in Pakistan dealing with Quaid's personal, forensic, parliamentary and political life. The nation still yearns for a Boswell and an Emil Ludwig for the Father.

Will Mr. Matlub attempt another study? Above all, will the National Committee appointed for supervising and planning the centenary of the Quaid please decide upon the correct date of his birth?

CORRESPONDENCE

While going through the article, "Quaid-i-Azam's biographies" in your issue of Sept 28 I could not help wondering why official measures were not taken by the various Governments, following the discovery of a new date of birth of the Quaid, to investigate the various aspects of his life.

The Sind Madressah records are claimed to have been redeemed by the author of the article in 1950. Has the historic register bearing the signature, "Mamad", been acquired by the Government for being preserved as a treasure in our National Museum?

Will the curator please let us know.

Karachi. *A. Qayyum*

In your issue of Oct. 11, Mr. A. Qayyum asked why measures were not taken by successive Governments, following the discovery of a new date of birth of the Quaid.

It is of interest to recall that the President of the Constituent Assembly had disallowed a resolution of which Mr. Ahmad E.H. Jaffer had given notice as far back as March, 1951. The resolution related to the appointment of a non-official committee of historians and research scholars to investigate the correct date of the Quaid-i-Azam's birth in view of the importance of the Sind Madressah records.

It was highly intriguing to learn that the President of the Constituent Assembly disallowed the resolution under Rule 22 of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly (Legislature) Rules. "....in that it relates to a matter which is not primarily the concern of the Government of Pakistan."

Happily, Mr. Ahmad E.H. Jaffer is in our midst in this year of grace and may his span increase. Will he kindly enlighten us further

on this issue. Meanwhile, it is time the present Government realised the inestimable value of the Sind Madressah records and acquired the historic Register with the signature "MAMAD" for being preserved as a treasure in our National Museum.

Karachi. *M. A. Harris.*

I would like to point out the gross discrepancy quoted by learned authors of an English Reader prescribed for the Secondary classes by the Sind Text-book Board.

This is regarding the place of birth of the Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The Englishs Reader Part I for Class VII, published by Nafees Academy in July 1974 for English medium schools and edited by very experienced authors has the following "facts" recorded on page 14: "Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born at Jhirk, District Thatta, on Sunday the 25th December 1876."

No historical records show this "fact". If this is true then what happens to Wazir Mansion at Kharadar? The Social Studies history book published by Sh. Shaukat Ali Sons and also prescribed by the Sind Text-book Board, Hyderabad, contradicts this.

Its contents are in keeping with the recognised place of birth. It says on page 40: "Quaid-i-Azam was born in Karachi in 1876."

What are the students to believe? Is it fair to confuse these impressionable minds? Should such books be a part of the curriculum? I leave the decision to the education authorities.

Karachi. *S. R. Dossa.*

I was shocked to know that a Pakistani text-book gives wrong information to Pakistani students on Pakistan's Founder.

The English text-book for class VII says in chapter III, page 14, second paragraph, "Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born at Jhirk, District Thatta, on Sunday, 25th December, 1876."

The book has been prepared by the Sind Text-book Board and approved by the Education Department of Sind as the sole text-book for English medium schools in Hyderabad and Karachi Region, vide circular No. CD. Edu. 1-365, dated March 1, 1967, printed at Mashhoor Press and Roomi Printing Press, Karachi. The publishers are Nafees Academy, publishers' code number STB 17, book No. 1081, date of publication July 1974.

The authors are: Prof. Muhammad Siddique Kalem, M.A. (London), Senior Professor and Head of English Department, Government College, Lahore; Dr. Ghulam Ali Chaudhury, M.A., Reader in English Language and Literature, University of the Punjab, Lahore and Mr. Muhammad Ali Usman, B.A. Hons., M.A., Atchison College, Lahore.

Everyone knows and all other books tell us that the Quaid-i-Azam was born at Wazir Mansion, Karachi.

Karachi. *Shafiqur Rehman.*

In your issues of Oct. 10 and 26 your correspondents have bemoaned the allegedly wrong information about the Quaid-i-Azam's place of birth contained in various text-books. However, the stick with which they have beaten the authors has been spared in respect of the Quaid's date of birth. His correct, recorded date of birth is Oct. 20, 1875 and not Dec. 25, 1876.

As regards the possibility of Jhirk in Thatta District being the Quaid-i-Azam's actual birth place, the thesis cannot be without any foundation. It was in August, 1951 that I, accompanied by Shaikh Abdur Rahman, First Class Magistrate, and an official of the Education Department, had the opportunity of visiting Jhirk to investigate the basis of this controversy.

The place was a small hamlet. We were taken around by some elite of the place who showed us the actual spot where the Quaid-i-Azam was supposed to have been born. It is now for Mr. Shaikh A. Rahman, former Secretary, SITE, to guide us further in the matter.

Karachi. *M. A. Harris.*

My attention has been drawn to a booklet entitled Quaid-i-Azam: Tribute to a Great leader from the World Service, Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation. It reproduces a communication from the Quaid-i-Azam to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, purported to have been written as a letter on February 19, 1941, in which the former had called the latter a "Congress Showboy". This communication was a telegram and not a letter in reply to Azad's telegram. Further, the words, "cannot reciprocate confidence," have also a history behind them.

As this is the year of Quaid-i-Azam's birth centenary it is time to correct various mistakes that are creeping inadvertently into our historical narrations for want of proper care. I am inclined to think even the wordings of this telegram are not quite correct.

Karachi 20-6-76. *M. H. Saiyid*

Mr. M. H. Saiyid's suggestion in your issue of 20th June vis-a-vis Quaid-i-Azam's birth centenary that "......it is time to correct various mistakes that are creeping inadvertently into our historical narrations for want of proper care" is none-too-soon in the day.

Your correspondent, who himself is the author of a book entitled Mohammad Ali Jinnah (A Political Study) has not yet appended any corrigendum to his publication in respect of the Quaid-i-Azam's correct date of birth and early education. Mr. Saiyid still continues with his prepartition thesis that the Quaid was born on Christmas day of the year 1876, which fell on a Sunday and that he passed the

Matriculation examination of the Bombay University before proceeding to England to join Lincoln's Inn.

The fact that the Quaid was born on 20th October, 1875 is borne out by the original records of admission carefully maintained by the Sind Madressah-tul-Islam, Karachi where Mr. Jinnah received his secondary education. These records, in the form of the General Register, are officially preserved at the Wazir Mansion and are enough to finally rule out Christmas day as well as the year 1876 as Quaid's birthday. Besides, a reference to the last century's calendar available in the Sind-Baluchistan High Court reveals that the 25th of December of the year 1876 did not fall on a Sunday but on a Monday.

The General Register also shows that the Quaid was studying in standard V in 1892, the year he was sent to the United Kingdom for higher studies. The question of his passing the Matriculation examination does not, therefore, arise.

It is now for Mr. Saiyid to revise, rectify and correct some of the details concerning the Quaid's early life and education.

Karach. *M. A. Harris*

In a quiz programme telecast from Karachi last month, in which students of the Quaid-i-Azam University participated, the compere authoritatively declared that the Quaid had announced his decision to bid farewell to constitutional methods in the struggle for Muslim liberation during early 1946. Since this incorrect information bordering on a " howler " is bound to tarnish the image of the great Muslim leader and distort the role played by him during the critical period of Cabinet Mission parleys from March 24 to almost the end of June, 1946, I hasten to put the record straight.

To mention early 1946 — January or February — as the date and timing of Quaid-i-Azam's above-mentioned remarks serves to create the impression that Mr. Jinnah had given his verdict on

HMG's plans and proposals vis-a-vis transfer of power to the hands of Indian political parties before studying, examining and scrutinizing the scheme of Ministerial Mission.

The facts, however, are that Lord Pethic-Lawrence announced his Mission in the House of Lords on February 19, 1946. The three members of the British Cabinet arrived in New Delhi on March 24, 1946. On March 25th the Mission held its first Press conference when Lord Pethic-Lawrence said:

"The issue of self-determination is settled in principle. We have now to work out in co-operation the means by which Indians can themselves decide the form of their new institutions, with the minimum of disturbance and the maximum of speed."

The catalogue of events from March to June 1946 encompassed negotiations, meetings, Press conferences, Muslim League legislators' convention, Simla Conference, exchanges of correspondence and ultimate shipwreck of the confabulations, as far as the Muslim League was concerned, on the rock of the Interim Government and elections to the Constituent Assembly.

Thus it was that on July 29, 1946, the Quaid-i-Azam declared at the conclusion of the All-India Muslim League Council meeting in Bombay: "We want peace, we do not want war. But if you want war, we accept it unhesitatingly." A day later, on July 31, the Quaid-i-Azam called a Press conference to explain the motive behind the Council of the League in rejecting the British Cabinet Mission's proposals and in deciding upon a course of Direct Action on August 16, 1946. He said:

"The one party, namely, the British Government, is armed with machine-guns and the other party, namely, the Congress is armed with the threat of a mass struggle which is not a matter to be trifled with. Therefore, the League has been forced in its self-defence and in its own preservation to say good-bye to constitutional methods and resort to direct action."

Karachi. *M. A. Harris*

This is with reference to my erstwhile colleague and 'permanent' employee of the Department of Publications, Government of Pakistan (now retired), Mr. Jalil A. Kidwai's letter, published under the caption of 'Bolitho's Slip' in your paper. Before I briefly touch upon the relevant issue, I would like to thank Mr. Kidwai for calling me a poet —a compliment that I don't deserve.

As it is almost on the eve of my departure for abroad that I am replying to his letter, I am afraid, due to my pre-occupation, I can hardly do the full justice to the important issue raised by him.

Mr. Hector Bolitho — a New Zealander-cum-naturalised Briton — has built up his reputation on producing some books on the British royalty. The late Khan Liaquat Ali Khan had invited Mr. Beverley Nicols to undertake the job of writing a book on the Quaid-i-Azam, but Mr. Nicols recommended Mr. Bolitho instead and excused himself.

When Mr. Bolitho arrived in Karachi, as the guest of the Ministry of information, Government of Pakistan, the Minister of State for Information then was Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, the late Mr. S. M. Ikram, Joint Secretary, and Col. Majeed Malik, P.I.O. and Director of the Department of Publications, who selected me for the special assignment to help Mr. Bolitho compile the biography of the Quaid-i-Azam, the sad result of which is now before the public.

The reason of this poor result of Mr. Bolitho's efforts is the lack of the relevant material that was necessary for its compilation, since Miss Fatima Jinnah had refused to supply any material on the Quaid's life. I did my best in supplying to him whatever relevant material I could collect on the Quaid's life, which was, obviously, insufficient to compile an authentic and annotated work. The high officials avoided Mr. Bolitho, because they could not give him anything on the subject, and, so, Mr. Bolitho was very sore at the type of treatment meted out to him. He was put in a suite of two rooms in the Metropole Hotel, with his Assistant, Captain Peel. Everyday, he used to prepare a typed list of requirements (a sort of a questionnaire) which he handed to me next morning when I visited him in his room.

One morning, I found him in a very bad mood. He was actually abusing everything and every person, which annoyed me, and there was a quarrel between him and me. That is why, when he left Pakistan, he wrote a very bad letter about me and sent it to Col. Majeed Malik, which I replied in a fitting manner to his address in England. That is why, in his book on the Quaid, he has expressed his thanks to a number of persons, except myself, who, in an extremely difficult situation, helped him with whatever I was able to lay my hand on for the completion of the job.

On Mr. Bolitho's insistence, I made an effort to arrange his meeting with the late Miss Fatimah Jinnah, but failed to do so, because when she knew of the purpose of my mission, she refused to receive Mr. Bolitho. Mr. Bolitho, thereafter, frequently sopke ill of the Madar-e-Millat. In the series of articles entitled "Sifting facts from fiction" by Mr. Rizwan Ahmad, it is proved beyond doubt that Mr. Bolitho did not even go through the documents available in his own country. The entry in registers of the church Mission School was also in his knowledge. He failed to utilize these available documents. In these circumstances late Miss Fatima Jinnah's non-co-operation with the British writer, as I feel now, was fully justified.

There are many more episodes connected with Mr. Bolitho's stay in Karachi, at that time, which I know, but neither time nor expediency permits me to divulge them.

Karachi. *Mahmud Brelvi.*

In your issue of Oct. 7, Mr. Mahmud Brelvi correctly stated that Mr. Bolitho failed to utilise documents concerning the Quaid's life available not only in Pakistan but also in his own country of adoption.

When the liner carrying Mr. Bolitho touched at Keamari Port in 1951, I was the first to contact him on board with my pamphlet, Quaid-i-Azam—What is his date of birth? published in September, 1950 by the Taj Co. Ltd., containing hitherto-unknown and unrecorded facts about his early education, first marriage at Cutch,

migration to Anjuman-e-Islam High School, Bombay and facsimiles of the general register of Sind Madressah-tul-Islam, Karachi, showing Quaid's own signatures in Gujrati.

Mr. Bolitho glanced through the booklet and said he would be in touch with me on this subject, However, I never heard anything from him although he was much heard of those days in the official and press circles.

The labours of this Continental author saw the light of day in the form of a book of 244 pages entitled Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan, published by John Murray Ltd., of Great Britain in 1954. On January 2, 1955, I contributed an article to a local daily captioned "Bolitho blunders", a paragraph of which read as follows :

"The chapter dealing with Quaid-i-Azam's early life and education may easily be termed piece de resistance of the book. However, what is painfully surprising in this connection is the fact that the biographer seems to have relied mainly on the data contained in certain books without taking the trouble to delve deeper into the matter and sift the grain of truth from the chaff of hearsay. It is in situations like these that the reader realises the supreme importance of consultation with Miss Jinnah the benefit of which Mr. Bolitho either denied himself or could not avail of."

Similar were the reactions vented out in a symposium broadcast in the Home Service of BBC, duly reported in the press throughout Pakistan on 13th February, 1955. Under the Chairmanship of Mr. John Summerson, five well-known critics of radio, book, art, film and theatre met to tear the book to bits.

The theatre critic, Mr. T. C. Worsley disagreeing with the Chairman's remarks, said that the book did not satisfy him "about India generally and about Jinnah particularly." He called this one of the "supposing biographies. He was not even sure to whom the book was really addressed". Accusing Mr. Bolitho of having consistently underestimated both the intelligence and ignorance of the reader, Mr. Worsley said the author did not really go into the complicated subject of partition.

Mr. Stephen Potter, the radio critic on the panel, found this

book as if "it were notes for a book—those very short paragraphs and very short sentences and very short chapters and each little bit tacked on the other. No chapter was properly digested."

Mr. John Connell, the book critic, commented that in justification for Mr. Bolitho it must be said that he didn't have access to all the stuff that he hoped to have.

Karachi. *M. A. Harris*

Britannica contains wrong information about Quaid-i-Azam

Secretary of the Quaid Foundation, Mr. Rizwan Ahmad has protested against the publication of new Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume-10, 1974 edition, which contains false information on the Quaid-i-Azam.

In a statement he has pointed out that on page-223 of the Encyclopaedia, the story of Matriculation and Quaid's taking part in the election campaign of Dadabhoy Naoroji is false and contrary to facts.

The page-223 says 'later he (Quaid) attended the Mission High School, where at the age of 16, he passed the Matriculation Examination of the University of Bombay'. 'In 1892, the year of Jinnah's arrival in London, Jinnah took a keen interest in the affairs of India and Indian students. When the Parsi leader Dadabhoy Naoroji, a leading Indian nationalist, ran for the English Parliament, Jinnah and other Indian students worked day and night for him. Their efforts were crowned with success, and Naoroji became the first Indian to sit in the House of Commons'.

Mr. Rizwan Ahmad pointed out that the documentary evidence proves the presence of young Jinnah in Karachi till the last month of 1892.

The Encyclopaedia says that 'in 1895 at the age of 19 Quaid was called to the bar'.

Actually, Mr. Rizwan said, Quaid-i-Azam was called to the Bar on April 28, 1896 and not in 1995 as mentioned in the Encyclopaedia.

He said, similarly the Encyclopaedia Britannica of 1956 Volume-13 contain wrong information about Karachi city. In it, Karachi was mentioned as 'a seaport city on the western coast of India'. Further it described Karachi Port as 'the third port of India' which is 'nearest Indian port to Europe'.

However, the wrong information was later corrected, when pointed out.

Mr. Rizwan said that such mistakes printed in foreign books have been pointed out a number of times.—PPI.

In his book about the last days of the Quaid-i-Azam, Col. Elahi Baksh was understandably bitter at the absence of proper arrangements for the Quaid's trip, on the night he passed away, from the Karachi airport to the G.G. House. I happen to know something about this which I feel I need no longer keep to myself.

I once asked the late Mr. Farrukh Amin, who was Assistant Secretary to the Quaid and who had accompanied him to and from Ziarat, about the incident, and he said that it was at Miss Fatima Jinnah's instructions that the Quaid's journey was kept secret and this accounted for the absence of proper transport arrangements at Karachi. I did not ask the reason for the instructions, and probably he did not know it himself.

So long as Miss Fatima Jinnah was alive, the secret had to be kept. Some time in July 1969 Mr. Farrukh Amin sent me a draft of a paper he intended to present at the then forthcoming historical conference and, in returning it to him — I was abroad at the time — I asked him whether the time had not now come to share the secret with the public. Unfortunately, before he could probably revise the paper, he himself died, on 11 September 1969. The paper, in any case, was not presented and it might be lying among his other papers with his family.

Mr. Farrukh Amin may possibly have told the same thing to some other people also — people who could be trusted to keep the secret — and they might have got to know something more than I did. But the two gentlemen who were closest to him Mr. Anwar Ali (Governor, Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency), and Mr. A. Rashid

Ibrahim, are also dead, and so is Lt. Cdr. Mazhar Ahmad who was the Quaid's ADC at the time. It is possible, however, that someone other than these might be able to throw some light on the matter.

And there is one other small fact, much earlier which too I might reveal on this occasion. Back in the early 1940's the Quaid paid a visit to Lahore and the Sikh leaders gave a party in his honour. There was then much speculation that the Sikhs were, after all, going to make common cause with Muslims against the Hindus, and much consternation and apprehension in the ranks of the latter. However, a few days later I saw a censor intercept, which was a copy of a letter by Sardar Baldev Singh to a Liberal leader probably Sir Taj Bahadur Sapru to the effect that the Sikhs had no intention of joining the Muslims. This I felt, must be brought to the notice of the Quaid. I was then Superintendent of the Political Section of the Home Department of the Government of India, and it was this which provided the opportunity for me to see the intercept, I, therefore, made out a copy and gave it to a colleague to convey to the Quaid. He later told me that the Quaid was very pleased at the information and remarked that this was the first time he had received information of this kind from any quarter whereas the Hindu leaders might be getting all sorts of secret information from innumerable sources.

Karachi. *Abdullah Jan*

Of late, a number of articles have appeared, by Mr. Rizwan Ahmad, Mr. Anwar Harris and some others who claim to have done research on the early life of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

It is abundantly clear from these articles that all the biographies of the Quaid-i-Azam published so far contain glaring inaccuracies and, in the case of a couple of them, it has now been proved that they are more fiction than facts.

Even Mr. M. H. Saiyid, whose M. A. Jinnah — A Political Study, which was first published in 1945 and is still by far the best biography of the Quaid, has admitted in a recent letter published in Dawn, that in view of the research carried out by Mr. Rizwan Ahmed, he

is himself not very sure of some of the things stated in his book concerning the early life of the Quaid-i-Azam.

Is it not a pity that till today, we do not have a single authentic biography of the great leader and father of this nation?

A few days back a Central Minister stated that a fresh biography of the Quaid-i-Azam is in print and will be available in several volumes in a couple of months time. This is very heartening and the Government deserves congratulations for taking this praiseworthy step. The question, however, remains as to who has written this biography, and what are his or their qualifications for the same and what precautions have been taken to see that the mistakes and inaccuracies that have appeared in all the biographies published so far are not repeated in this one.

Yet another aspect of this subject which needs serious consideration is the price of these publications. Almost all the books on the Quaid-i-Azam published in English are priced well over twenty rupees (excepting Elite's latest edition of Mr. Saiyid's book which is available for even rupees or so.

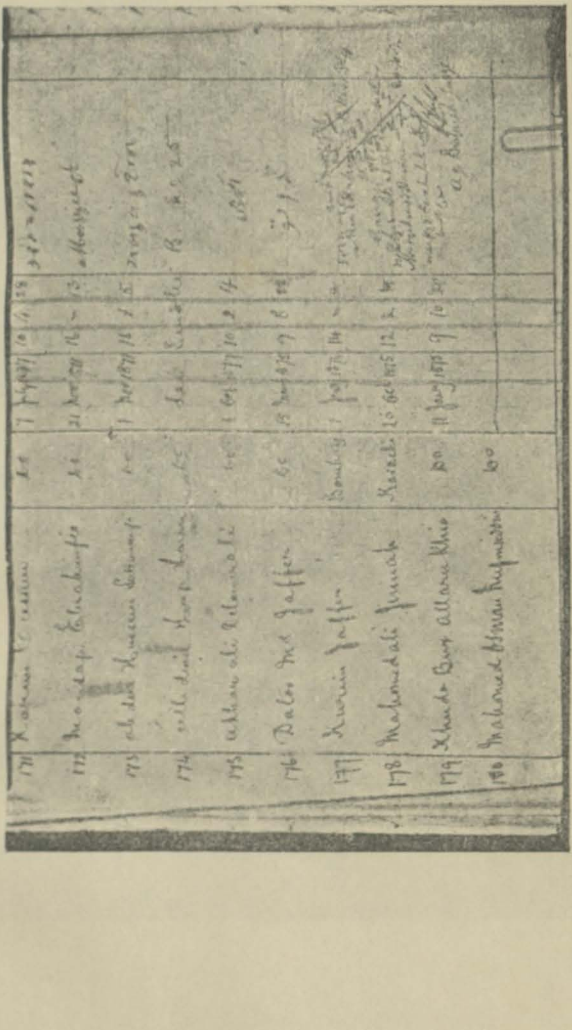
It is worth considering how many of our students and the working class people can afford to buy books which cost over twenty rupees. Is it not our duty and the duty of the Government to see that an authetic biography of the Quaid-i-Azam is available to the people at a price which is not beyond their purchasing power?

In these days of soaring paper and printing prices it is impossible to produce and sell a book of this nature for say two to three rupees without undergoing huge financial loss. This can be done only if the publication is hevily subsidised. The Government should give this matter its most urgent attention and if for some reason it is not possible for the Government to undertake this project can not some of our philanthropists and money-bags get together and subsidise the project? Of course if this is to be done it must be remembered that what is required is not merely an English publication but also Urdu as well as all the other regional languages.

Karachi.

Zain Noorani

Facsimile I



AT A FUNCTION ON SIND MADRESSAH GROUND



Miss Fatima Jinnah with M. A. Harris & others in 1950

(*A Re-Print*)

QUAID-I-AZAM

What is his date of birth ? *A research by M. A. Harris*

To

My Brother

WHOSE

Passion for research, and flair for industry constituted the mainspring of my inspiration.

FOREWORD

By

Lt. Col. A. B. A. Haleem,
B.A. (Oxon), Barrister-at Law,
Vice-Chancellor, University of Sind.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah stands out as one of the leading statesmen of the modern period and has left an abiding and indelible impress on our age. He will go down in history as the man who organised the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent into a solid mass, infused in them new hopes, inspired them with new ideals and led them to the realisation of the goal which he had set before them. He was a thinker as well as a practical politician, a dreamer who had the courage, determination and tenacity of purpose to translate his dreams into realities. Every aspect of the life of this great personality deserves careful study and Mr. M.A. Harris has rendered a service to the country by throwing interesting light on the question of the date of his birth and his early education. Parents in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent are often careless about entering the correct birth day of their children in the school register, and the evidence cited by Mr. Harris cannot be held to prove conclusively that the Quaid-i-Azam was born on October 20, 1875. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, however, it would not be wise to challenge his thesis. Apart from the merits of the controversy the author deserves our thanks for focussing public attention on the necessity of carrying on investigation into different aspects and phases of the life of the Quaid-i-Azam.

PREFACE

The slender size of this brochure might make some readers wonder whether it was necessary at all to put such meagre material into the eternity of print. They might as well ask if it would not have been more appropriate to get this article published in a daily or weekly newspaper and be done with it.

The attention of such critics is invited to the fact that on September the 5th, 1950 "The Civil and Military Gazette", Karachi, had published the same article under the caption "QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIRTHDAY " along with the three facsimiles adorning this pamphlet. Unfortunately, the blocks did not come out well, thus depriving the article of much of its inherent interest.

However, with a view to enlarging the circle of thoughtful readers, friends later on suggested a separate publication, with additional details and a few appendixes, of the article in the form of a booklet. The idea caught up and with the untiring efforts of my valued friend, Mr. Amjad Husain Khokhar of the Karachi Customs, the brochure saw the light of day.

A research into the various aspects of the Quaid-i-Azam's life should be considered an assignment of national importance; so also an attempt to retrieve from oblivion the records of his early days. To focus attention on this question, inclusion of Appendix-III will not, I hope, be deemed out of place. Any one trying to read into it a sordid expression of self-importance would be less than just to the author.

My sincere thanks are due to Khatoon-i-Pakistan Miss Fatima Jinnah who graciously consented to spare some time to go through the article; to Lt. Col. Prof. A.B.A. Haleem, Vice-Chancellor, University of Sind, for having contributed an admirable and characteristic Foreword. Similarly, I am indebted to Principal K. I. Thomas of the Sind Madressah-tul-Islam, Karachi and my friend Syed Sharifuddin, Advocate, Karachi, for allowing me access to the original records and valuable books bearing on Quaid's life. Shaikh Enayatullah Saheb of the Taj Co. Ltd., deserves special thanks for his kindness in having undertaken the publication.

24th September, 1950. *M. A. Harris*

The exact date of birth of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah had formed a subject of controversy as far back as 1945. However, owing to absence or non-availability or inaccessibility of any recorded evidence, no definite conclusion could be reached, and as usual Muslims continued to celebrate the leader's birthday on 25th December every year.

It was in the year 1918 that the late Mrs. Sarojini Naidu for the first time referred in her writings to the Quaid-i-Azam's date of birth. A perusal of Appendix-I will make it clear that even she was in doubt as to the actual year of her "........ beloved friend's" birth. But it is very regrettable that the succeeding biographers, while taking a leaf out of Mrs. Naidu's book, conveniently omitted to mention what the latter was particularly meticulous to state. The result was a perpetuation of the wrong impression which no one ever thought of dispelling.

Even Mr. Matlubul Hasan Saiyid, the author of "MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH (A Political Study)", followed in the foot-steps of his predecessors and with an air of certainty declared that "On Christmas day of the year 1976, which fell on a Sunday, was born in the city of Karachi Mohammad Ali Jinnah........*" However, a reference to the last century's calendar available for consultation in the local Chief Court, reveals that 25th of December of the year 1876 did not fall on a Sunday but on a Monday.

It may be pertinently asked why the Quaid-i-Azam himself during his life time did not rectify the chronological error besetting his birth. The only answer which suggests itself is that he had no reason to disbelieve the statement of Mrs. Naidu that there was "............no reliable record of the actual year." There seems to be no doubt that the "Nightingale of India" must have left no stone unturned to sift the available records. She might even have consulted the Municipal Corporation, Karachi, and probably got the same reply which the present author received, viz., that there were no records extant of births and deaths before September, 1879. Besides, as far as

can be recollected the Muslim India, under the auspices of the All-India Muslim League, celebrated the Birthday of the Quaid-i-Azam for the first time in 1939. He was then ascending the zenith of his fame as the undisputed leader of Mussalmans and the pressure of work and the manifold nature of his occupations did not permit him to delve in details as to the exact date of his birth.

Following the dawn of Independence, the Government of Pakistan gazetted, perhaps in recognition of the long-standing practice, December the 25th as a Public Holiday on account of Christmas Day and Quaid-i-Azam's Birthday. The Central Government's anxiety to be scrupulously exact about this date is evident from the fact that they preferred to amalgamate Christmas Day with Quaid-i-Azam's Birthday rather than allow the latter to precede or follow the former. However, what is more important is the fact that 25th of December, 1876 cannot possibly be reckoned as Quaid-i-Azam's birthday. This is proved from the original records of admission carefully maintained for nearly three quarters of a century by the Sind Madressah-tul-Islam, Karachi, where the Architect of Pakistan received his secondary education.

A scrutiny of the General Register whose relevant facsimiles adorn this booklet reveals that Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born in Karachi on 20th October 1875. He was admitted to Std. I as an ex-student of Anjuman-e-Islam, Bombay on 23-12-1887, and at that time he was 12 years 2 month-4 day-old. Master Jinnah then was unacquainted with English and attested his age in the relevant column of the register by signing in Gujrati. The name "Mamad", his pet name at home, can be clearly seen in the photograph down the penultimate Sindhi signature "Dhato" It might also be mentioned that the register was produced as an exhibit in the Court of the then Acting District Judge in connection with a case. Hence the Court stamp.

It is also clear that January the 5th, 1891 saw a break in his studies, the reason for withdrawal from the school having been stated as " Long absence". But the cloistered corridors of the Madressah and "......the sands of Karachi........" where

he "...... played marbles in......" his " ....boyhood " issued forth an irresistible call and Mohammad Ali Jinnah returned to the portals of the Alma Mater on the 9th of February 1891. The span of separation was so short that it is not understood why it was termed a "Long absence" . May be that "the tall thin boy in a funny long yellow coat" had endeared himself so much to his tutors that even a sojourn in Bombay on his part appeared most unbearable to the teachers in Karachi.

His final departure from the Sind Madressah-tul-Islam came on 30th of January, 1892. The register records that at that time he was a student of Std. V. and the reason of withdrawal in the "Remarks" column is given as "Left for Cutch on marriage". This is most significant, for it shows that early marriage was all the rage those days and even a progressive and advanced family like the one to which the Quaid-i-Azam belonged, could not resist the compulsion of times. All his standard biographers such as Syed Sharifuddin, Advocate and Mr. A. A. Peerbhoy, Bar-at-Law have referred in their respective works to this particular incident in the Quaid's life. Yet there are few who would believe that his marriage to Miss Petit was not the first one.

That he did not rejoin the Sind Madressah after his marriage is evident from the foregoing. Most probably he was admitted, as Mrs. Naidu says, to "......the Mission School of his native city". But the period of his association with that institution could not have been very long. At any rate it was extremely short-lived; for as pointed out above, it was on 30th of January, 1892 that he is shown as having left for Cutch on marriage. Besides, it is in the same year that he was sent to England. This is also confirmed by Khatoon-i-Pakistan Miss Fatima Jinnah, with whom the author had a thorough discussion as to the reliability of the Sind Madressah documents. Miss Jinnah remembers well that the Quaid-i-Azam was sent abroad soon after his marriage, and that then he was studying in Std. V.

In view of this, and the fact that Mission School does not possess any record of the Quaid-i-Azam's association with that institution, it is very strange that the author of "MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH (A Political Study)", should have categorically stated as follows :

"........he was put finally in the Mission High School where he passed the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University." This is entirely incorrect. Quaid-i-Azam's education in India did not go beyond Std. V. How then, it may be questioned, was he admitted to Lincoln's Inn. The answer is very simple. He passed the usual "Little Go" examination—and not the Matriculation—in the United Kingdom to enable him to prosecute his law studies.

The nation should feel immensely grateful to the past and the present Management of the Sind Madressah for having preserved intact the invaluable records partaining to the early days of the Father of the Nation. In view of this most reliable and perhaps the only authentic evidence yet available, the Government of Pakistan would do well to revise their decision and declare 20th of October as Quaid-i-Azam's Birthday.

APPENDIX-I

The following is an extract from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's "MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH: An ambassador of Unity", published in February 1918 by Ganesh and Company, Madras :—

> " Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born on the 25th December, 1876—(there is no reliable record of the actual year) the eldest son of a rich merchant of Karachi. Reared in careless affluence and adored by his family, he might so easily have grown into an indolent and ignorant boyhood. But he fortunately loved his studies and received his early education at the Madressah and afterwards at the Mission School of his native city. In 1892 he was sent to England......"

APPENDIX-II

In chapter I—Early Life of his book entitled "MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH (A Political Study)", Mr. Matlubul Hasan Saiyid writes :

> "On Christmas day of the year 1876 which fell on a Sunday, was born in the city of Karachi, MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH to gladden the hearts of his lucky parents, for he was their first-born child.........."

> "Little Jinnah was separated from his parents at a very early stage of his life and was sent to Bombay to receive his primary lessons at Gokul Das Tej Primary School..........."

> "After a short time, however, he was again taken back to Karachi and admitted to Sind Madrassa High School; he was put finally in the Mission High School where he passed the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University."

APPENDIX-III

QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIRTHDAY

To

The Editor, " Civil and Military Gazette",
Karachi.

Sir,

I was very much interested to read the article by Mr. M.A. Harris on "Quaid-i-Azam's Birthday" in your issue of the September 5. The author deserves to be congratulated for this piece of valuable research. The Government, in the light of this fact, would do well to declare October 20 as the official birthday of Quaid-i-Azam and the historic register with the signature "Mamad" must find its rightful place as a treasure in our National Museum.

Karachi, September 9, 1950. *Taher M. Shaikh Ali*

REVIEWS

A little brochure issued on December 25, 1950—which was celebrated all over Pakistan and the Muslim world as the 7th Birth Anniversary of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah—has revived an old controversy. It surrounds the disputed birth-date of the Quaid-i-Azam. Mr. M. A. Harris who has long been a keen student of politics and who was an enthusiastic worker of the Muslim League till he took up a job in the Customs Department, has unearthed quite a few documents which indicate that the Quaid-i-Azam was born, not on 25th December as is generally believed, but on October 20, 1875. In support of this statement the author of the brochure reproduces facsimiles of relevant extracts from the original records of admissions maintained by the Sind Madressah-tul-Islam where the Quaid-i-Azam received his secondary education".

Mr. Harris writes: "A scrutiny of the General Register reveals that Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born in Karachi on 20th October, 1875. He was admitted to Std. I as an ex-student of Anjuman-i-Islam, Bombay, on 23-12-1887, and at that time he was 12-year-2-month-4-days old. Master Jinnah was then unacquainted with English and attested his age in the relevant column of the register by signing in Gujrati. The name "Mamad", his pet name at home, can be clearly seen in the photograph down the penultimate Sindhi signature Zato. It might also be mentioned that the register was produced as an exhibit in the Court of the then Acting District Magistrate in connection with a case. Hence the Court stamp."

"It is also clear that January 5, 1891, saw a break in his studies, the reason for withdrawal from the school having been stated as 'Long absence'. But the cloistered corridors of the Madressah and the sands of Karachi" where he "—played marbles in his boyhood—" issued forth an irresistible call and Mohammad Ali Jinnah returned to the portals of the Alma Mater on the 9th of February, 1891. The span of separation was so short that it is not understood why it was termed a "Long absence"

The documents that have been produced in support of this theory are authentic and, hence, the matter should be further investigated by the Government in the interest of establishing the correct date of

the Quaid-i-Azam's birth. It is possible that the birth-date as it appears in the register of the Sind Madressah-tul-Islam may have been erroneously stated by his parents. As Prof. A.B. Haleem says in his concise foreword to the brochure: "Parents in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent are often careless about entering the correct birth day of their children in the school register." But until such carelessness can be proved in the case of the Quaid-i-Azam's birth-date, it will not be easy, nor wise, to challenge the evidence cited by Mr. Harris.

The brochure produced by Mr. M.A. Harris is a commendable piece of research. Such talent and enthusiasm should be encouraged.

Illustrated Weekly of Pakistan

QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIRTH

A misapprehension as to the date of Mr. Jinnah's birth, hithero celebrated on Christmas Day, is corrected in a small brochure by Mr. M. A. Harris, *Quaid-i-Azam—What is the date of his birth*? which points out that the correct date is October 20, 1875, according to the general admission register of the Sind Madressah-tul-Islam, Karachi, where he received his secondary education.

This entry is signed by himself with his pet name, Mamad. Astrologers may find interest and significance in the fact that Gandhiji, Sardar Patel and Mr. Jinnah were all born in the month of October.

Times of India

NEW LIGHT THROWN ON QUAID'S BIRTHDAY

Date may have to be revised

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah's birthday, which falls every year on Christmas Day, may have to be revised consequent on a latest research concerning the date of birth of Pakistan's late, lament-

ed Governor-General.

It has been found that December 25 which has been officially gazetted as Quaid-i-Azam's Birthday, is at variance with his original date of birth as recorded in the Sind Madressah register. The entry in this register shows that Quaid-i-Azam was born on October the 20th, 1875.

While the generally accepted date carries behind it the sanction of an age-old practice, it is contended that there is no documentary evidence to substantiate the authenticity of that date. But the newly discovered date, it is claimed, is the most reliable and the only authentic proof yet available.

The foregoing research which may well turn out to be the fore-runner of an official change in the Quaid-i-Azam's date of birth, forms the subject matter of a concise booklet brought out by Mr. M. A. Harris, a local freelance journalist.

Civil & Military Gazette.

Quaid-i-Azam's birthday has revived the controversy about his birthday. Mr. M. A. Harris has brought out a brochure which contains his research to prove that the exact date of the Quaid's birth was October 20, 1875 which means that his birth day should be celebrated on that date every year. In support of his thesis, Mr. Harris cites the original records of admission to Sind Madressah-tul-Islam where the Quaid received his secondary education. "A scrutiny of the General Register" he says, "whose relevant facsimiles reveal that Mohammed Ali Jinnah was born in Karachi on October 20, 1875. He was admitted to standard I as an ex-student of Anju-man-e-Islam, Bombay on 23-12-1887, and at that time he was 12 years, 2 months, 4 days old. Master Jinnah then was unacquainted with English and attested his age in the relevant column of the register by signing in Gujrati. The name "Mamad" his pet name at home, can be clearly seen in the photograph down the penultimate Sindhi signature "Zato".

I think this controversy will rage for some time, but I am inclined to agree with Prof. Haleem who has written a foreword to this booklet

that Muslim parents are "often careless about entering the correct birthday of their children in the school register." Most of us can bear him out in this. Whatever may be the ultimate judgement of research scholars, two things can be said about the present date: firstly the Quaid never objected to it and secondly that in people's mind it has gained a permanent place and it should not be disturbed. (Every British sovereign celebrates his birthday on June 6, which ever the date he or she might be actually born). All the same Mr. Harris's research concerning the personality of Quaid-i-Azam is welcome. The only thing I do not like about the booklet is that although printed on art paper it contains only 20 pages and is too highly priced at Re. 1/- for that.

Times of Karachi

"QUAID-I-AZAM": What is his date of birth? By M. A. Harris—Re. 1

In September last year when the "Civil and Military Gazette", published Mr. Harris's article, entitled 'Quaid-e-Azam's Birthday", considerable interest was aroused in the subject, although there were some who remarked that the matter was not of much consequence. Attention, however, was focussed on the necessity of research into the various aspects and phases of the great leader's life.

The birthday of the Quaid-i-Azam was celebrated, as Mr. Harris also reminds us, for the first time in 1939 under the auspices of the All-India Muslim League. He had eight more happy returns in his lifetime, but he never bothered to "rectify the chronological error", which Mr. Harris seeks to prove it was. Perhaps, as the author suggests, the Quaid-i-Azam had no reliable record of his date of birth. Perhaps, his steedy perception of time's unceasing stream and his visions of the future course of its currents left him

no time to behold the man-made marks and graduations. But that is not to detract from the value and interest of Mr. Harris's thesis. The author has taken great pains to collect, sift and collate the mass of evidence is support of his contention. The brochure is printed on imitation art paper and contains three facsimiles, showing the entries in the scholars' register of the Sind Madrassahtul-Islam and the three appendices added in the end enhance the interest of the booklet.

"*Dawn*"

QUAID-I-AZAM — What is his date of birth? by M.A. Harris Published by Taj Company Ltd.

In his brochure entitled "Quaid-i-Azam — what is his date of birth" — M. A. Harris has reproduced in facsimile the relevant page of the old attendance register of the Sind Madressah to show that the Quaid's date of birth was October 20, 1875, and not December 25, 1876. Apart from the evidence the consideration on which the author builds is that in the days of the Quaid's childhood there was no reliable recording of dates of birth. This might in some way also militate against the date entered in the Sind Madressah register. Nevertheless, the evidence produced by him cannot be lightly overthrown. To many, however, it would seem singularly apt that what is believed to be the date of birth of the Quaid should also be the day of the year on which Jesus Christ is supposed to have been born. The conflict between the official date and the other date may be deepened by the fact that the error, if it was one, remained uncorrected by Quaid-i-Azam himself.

QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIRTHDAY

To none of us would have ever occurred, amidst joy and merry making of Dec. 25 when both Quaid's birthday and christmas are celebrated, that this may not after all be our leader's birthday. And yet there is some startling evidence which points towards this possibility. The small brochure brought out by Mr. M. A. Harris will, for the first time, focus public attention on this important question.

It would be premature to suggest as to what will be the final outcome of subsequent researches but in the absence of any other documentary evidence the records of admission preserved by the Sind Madressah-tul-Islam which show Quaid-i-Azam's date of birth as 20th October 1875, will have to be seriously considered. As a matter of fact, this in future will be the starting point of all further investigations about the life of the Father of the Nation.

The tiny booklet neatly printed on art paper contains three Facsimiles from the original records of admission maintained by the management of the Sind Madressah. A foreward by Prof. A.B.A. Haleem adds to the interest of the booklet and no one could know better than an eminent educationist of his standing the value of such research . But with the characteristic scepticism of a don he adds: "Parents in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent are often careless about entering the correct birthday of their children in the school register............"

Readers would learn two more interesting facts about their Quaid. One is his first marriage and the other about his education. We have so far been told that he passed his matriculation examination before leaving for England. No, Mr. Harris asserts that his education did not go beyond standard V in India. For all this research and for throwing light anew on many aspects of Quaid's life we ought to be grateful to Mr. Harris.

Sind Observer.

LETTERS

To the Editor "C. & M. Gazette"

Sir,—Apropos the brochure "Quaid-i-Azam—What is his date of birth?", your reviewer observes that "In September last year when the 'C' & M. Gazette' published Mr. Harris's article entitled 'Quaid-i-Azam's birthday' .... there were some who remarked that the matter was not of much consequence". Pershaps the reviewer has in view those who anticipated Prof. A. B. A. Haleem who has contributed a foreword to the booklet.

According to the learned Professor "Parents in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent are often careless about entering the correct birthday of their children in the school register........". The only motive underlying such "carelessness" would appear to be the parents' anxiety to see that the real ages of their children were not disclosed. They would invariably insist on recording birth dates of their sons or daughters so as to make them appear a year or two younger than their actual ages.

Supposing the Quaid-i-Azam's parents had the same object in view, then they should have entered his date of birth not as 20th of October, 1875 nor 25th of December, 1876—if that represents the actual date—but something other than the two dates. It is thus clear that that particular date should have followed and not preceded December 1876. The Sind Madressah date—20th October, 1875—adds nearly ten months to his age as calculated on the basis of Decepber, 1876. Surely his responsible and enlightened father would not commit that avoidable mistake. Then the only conclusion which appears inescapable is that when the Quaid's parents allowed his date of birth to be recorded as October 20, 1875, they must have been sure about it.

Another aspect which seems to have been commonly overlooked is that Sind Madressah since its very inception used to have only Englishmen as its Principals. The year 1875 was no exception to this rule. The high degree of efficiency and organisation maintained by these men is reflected not only in the present set-up of the institution but also in the relics of its past. The general register carrying details of Quaid-i-Azam's admission is a proof thereof.

It is, therefore, inconceiveable that such institutional heads would accept birth dates of pupils as supplied by parents without any documentary proof of their authenticity.

The foregoign facts lend support to Mr. Harris's thesis that October the 20th, 1875, is the more correct of the two dates of Quaid-i-Azam's birth.

Karachi. *Amjad Hussain Khokhar.*

Sir,—Regarding Mr. Khokar's remarks about my review of Mr. Harris's admirable booklet, "Quaid-e-Azam: What is his date of birth?" I would like to say the following:

The article by Mr. Harris, which appeared in your paper in September, was a piece of praise-worthy original research and patient scholarship and was, for all I know, very well received by discriminating readers of your paper. That there were some, as I said, who did not feel equally interested just shows the variety of human nature and is absolutely no reflection on the author's laudable aim and the pertinence of his arguments.

But Mr. Khokhar's contention that "parents would invariably insist on recording birth dates of their sons or daughters so as to make them appear a year or two younger than their actual ages" seems to be based on an incorrect assumption. In the Quaid-i-Azam's days and even till much later, there used to be a minimum, not a maximum age, to be attained for eligibility to the Matriculation examination. To the best of my knowledge, it was 16 and it was by no means rare that parents of precocious children over-estimated their ages to enable them to take the examination.

As to Mr. Khokhar's naive assertion that there could be no discrepancy or irregularity in the records of the Sind Madressah because the Principal used to be an Englishman, I quite share with him a genuine regard for the many good qualities of the English character, but it would look like carrying appreciation to the preposterous heights of deification to say that the presence of an Englishman as the head of a department obviated all chances of error and irregularity. The heads of all, or almost all, district administrations used to be Englishmen. Does that mean there was no bungling or discrepancy in their records?

17-1-51 *A. A. R.*

Sir,—The President of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly has disallowed a resolution of which Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer had given notice. The resolution related to the appointment of a non-official Committee of Historians and Research scholars to investigate the correct date of Quaid-i-Azam's birth in view of the importance of

the Sind Madressah records recently unearthed and the mass of evidence incorporated in the brochure entitled "QUAID-I-AZAM—What is the date of his birth?"

It is highly intriguing to learn that the President of the Consembly has disallowed the resolution under Rule 22 of the Pakistan Constituten Assembly (Legislature) Rules "......in that it relates to a matter which is not primarily the concern of the Government of Pakistan".

A research into the various aspects of the Quaid-i-Azam's life should be considered an assignment of national importance; so also an attempt to retrieve from oblivion the records of his early days. To lightly brush aside this question on the specious plea that it "......is not primarily the concern of the Government of Pakistan" is the height of our misfortune which cannot be too sadly bemoaned.

It is high time the Government of Pakistan realised the inestimable value of the Sind Madressah records and acquired the historic Register with the signature "Mamad" for being preserved as a treasure in our National Museum.

Karachi. *M. A. Harris*

Sir,

I have received a letter from Lincoln's Inn which reads:—

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 4th instant enclosing the booklet concerning the late Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

On inspection of this Society's records, I find that Mr. Jinnah was admitted to this Society on the 25th June, 1893, and at that time gave his age as being 19 years. At the time of admission, no students are requested to give their date of birth. I am sorry I cannot give you any further information on this matter.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) H.C.H. FAIRCHILD
Under Treasurer.

In 1950



Miss Fatima Jinnah - M. A. Harris

Treasury Office,

Lincoln's Inn,

London, W.C.2.

9th January, 1951.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 4th instant enclosing the booklet concerning the late Mr. M.A. Jinnah.

On inspection of this Society's records, I find that Mr. Jinnah was admitted to this Society on the 25th June, 1893, and at that time gave his age as being 19 years. At the time of Admission, no Students are requested to give their date of birth. I am sorry I cannot give you any further information on this matter.

Yours faithfully,

Under Treasurer.

M.A. Harris, Esq.,
5 "Venus View", A.M.18,
Karachi.

Now, the Quaid's being 19 years on the 25th June, 1893, conclusively proves that he was not born on December the 25th, 1876, as has been popularly assumed. On the other hand, the Sind Madressah date viz. October 20, 1875, approximates more closely to that age. For a boy, who is 18 at the time of admission to the Lincoln's Inn as calculated on the basis of October 20, 1875, might conceivably quote his age as 19 years. But it is uncommon for a boy of 17, which was his age at the time of admission as computed on the assumption of December 25th, 1876 to give his age as 19 years.

The foregoing facts together with the heap of evidence cited in my brochure "QUAID-I-AZAM—What is his date of birth?", lend chunks of support to the thesis that October the 20th, 1875 is the more correct of the two dates of Quaid-i-Azam's birth.

Yours etc.

Karachi. *M. A. Harris*

Sir,—I have read with interest Mr. M. A. Harris's letter captioned "Quaid's Birthday", published in your issue of the 8th instant.

It is a thousand pities that Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer's resolution on the all-important topic of investigating the correct date of the beloved Quaid-i-Azam's birth should have been turned down by the President of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

The grounds advanced by the President for disallowing the resolution viz. that it related to a matter which is not primarily the concern of the Government of Pakistan, will cause a rude shock to every patriotic Pakistani. At a time when our scholars are being urged to write authentic biographies of Quaid-i-Azam, Allama Iqbal, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and other Muslim personalities, it is not understandable why individual efforts at spotlighting sources of original research should be discouraged by presidential edicts of the sort mentioned above.

Inaugurating the All-Pakistan History Conference at the K.G.A. Hall recently, Al-Haj Khwaja Nazimuddin proclaimed that limit-

less opportunities awaited historians and research scholars of Pakistan. If that is so, then the President of the Consembly will have to change his decision and recognise that Mr. Jaffer's resolution pertained to a matter which is primarily and positively the concern of the Government of Pakistan

Karachi. *Mumtaz Ally*

Sir,

It is strange to note that the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan disallowed Mr. Ahmad E.H. Jaffer, a Member of the Constituent Assembly, from moving a resolution relating to the appointment of a non-official Committee of Historians and research scholars to investigate the correct date of Quaid-i-Azam's birth in view of the importance of the Sind Madressah records recently unearthed.

The President of the Consembly disallowed the resolution under Rule 22 of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly (Legislature) Rules saying that it relates to a matter which is not primarily the concern of the Government of Pakistan.

A research into the various aspects of the Quaid-i-Azam's life should be considered an assignment of national importance, so also an attempt to retrieve from oblivion the records of his early days. To lightly brush aside this question is very unfortunate.

It is high time the Government of Pakistan realised the inestimable value of the Sind Madressah records and acquired the historic Register and preserved it as a treasure in our National Museum.

Karachi. Yours etc.
M. A. Harris

Sir,—As an Anglo-Pakistani, I was rather flabbergasted to read in your correspondence columns that the President of the Constituent Assembly has disallowed Mr. Ahmad Jaffer's resolution urging formation of a Committee to investigate the correct date of Quaid-i-Azam's birth on the ground that it was not primarily

the concern of the Government of Pakistan. Such a ruling might well have come from the Speaker of the Indian Republican Parliament. I am sure there is something wrong somewhere.

In this connection it would not be out of place to mention that I have gone through the small brochure entitled "Quaid-e-Azam—What is the date of his birth?"—which admirably sets out a series of arguments pointing to an alternative date of Mr. Jinnah's birth. Besides, the Sind Madressah Register on which, inter alia, the author bases his thesis, must be acquired by the authorities and its entries examined in an effort to test the genuineness thereof. In an age of research and universality of knowledge, it is strange, not to say deplorable, that our Government should bury its head like an ostritch in the sand.

Karachi. *Henry Kishander*

Sir,

Recently the Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan announced that it would bring out a comprehensive and up-to-date biography of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

This is indeed a very commendable step and every Pakistani is looking forward to its early publication. However, in view of the fact that the Sind Madressah Records reveal an alternative date of his birth attested by himself in his own handwriting, no book pertaining to Quaid's life and achievements can be called a standard work unless it takes into account this latest research.

Against this back ground it is very painful to note, as Mr. M.A. Harris pointed out in your correspondence column, that the President of the Constituent Assembly disallowed a resolution seeking the appointment of a non-official Committee to investigate the correct date of Quaid-i-Azam's birth.

It is a matter of national importance and the Prime Minister will find time to look into this matter.

Yours etc.,

Karachi. *Mumtazali Bux*

MEMORIAL TABLET TO GANDHIJI

Move by London County Council

By Sir Francis Low.

"The Times of India" News Service.

London, September 14, 1953 The London County Council's Town Planning Committee has decided to commemorate the residence in London of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah by erecting two plaques.

The plaque to Mahatma Gandhi is to be put up at Kingsley Hall in Powis Road. In 1931, when he spent almost three months in London as a delegate to the Round-Table Conference, Mr. Gandhi stayed at Kingsley Hall as a guest of the then warden, Miss Muriel Lester. The room he occupied now contains a portrait of him, some of his writings and a statuette, and is frequently displayed to Indian visitors.

The memorial tablet to Mr. Jinnah will be erected by the Council at 35, Russell Road, Kensington. Mr. Jinnah came to London to study law at Lincoln's Inn between 1892 and 1896 and a register of readers at the British Museum indicates that in February, 1895, he was living at this address. This fact has been confirmed by Miss Fatima Jinnah, his sister.

The plaques are now being designed and their manufacture is not likely to be completed until the end of this year.

PLAQUES TO JINNAH AND GANDHI IN LONDON

London, Sep. 14, 1953 The LCC Town Planning Committee are to commemorate the residence in London of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah by the erection of two more of the Council's blue and white plaques.

The tablet to Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah will refer to him as first Governor-General of Pakistan and will be erected at 35, Russel

Road, Kensington. Mr. Jinnah came to London to study law at Lincoln's Inn between 1892 and 1896 and the fact that in February, 1895, he was living at this address has been confirmed by Miss Fatima Jinnah, his sister.

Mr. Gandhi also came to London to study law. He was at the Inner Temple from 1887, called to the bar in June, 1891, a year before Mr. Jinnah arrived.

The plaque to Mr. Gandhi is to be put up at Kingsley Hall in Powis Road, Poplar, where he stayed in 1931, when he spent almost three months in London as a delegate to the Round Table Conference. The room he occupied now contains his portrait, some of his writings and a statuette.

The plaques are now being designed and their manufacture is not likely to be completed until towards the end of the year.—AFP.

FOUR YEARS IN OFFICE

THE LIAQAT ALI BUDGET

By John Matthai

I met Mr. Jinnah first in 1934 when he and I travelled to India by the same boat on his return from London at the end of his brief period of practice at the Privy Council. There were only a few passengers on board and we were, therefore, thrown together a great deal and spent most of our time discussing Indian problems.

I was greatly attracted by the blunt straightforward way in which his mind worked, his instinct for getting to the root of a problem, his impatience at crookedness and hairsplitting, his amazing confidence in himself and his robust patriotism. His chief drawback was his personal vanity. But I have found by experience that vain persons are easy to handle in negotiations because vanity presents a weak spot which can be pierced by the soft word and the delicate touch.

Good Brief

He was then an out and out Indian nationalist, as good a nationalist as any in the country. I came in touch with him again in the Indian Legislative Assembly at the time of the debate on the Ottawa Agreement in 1936. I was then a nominated official member and as such had to make a speech from the official benches supporting the extension of the Agreement, which I did with many mental reservations. Mr. Jinnah was in the opposition leading the Nationalist Party and was strongly against the Agreement. He had several talks with me during the session about it which I believed helped him to some extent to build up his powerful brief against its renewal.

Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan was then the Commerce Member and was my official chief—but I found myself in far greater sympathy with Mr. Jinnah whose speech at the end of the debate practically led to the rejection of the Agreement by an Assembly

packed with nominated members. I have often felt in recent years what a tower of strength he could have been to independent India if circumstances had not created so impassable a gulf between him and the Congress.

It was during my brief tenure of the Finance Membership that the government took the decision to abolish the salt tax. When the Congress assumed office, Mahatma Gandhi was staying in Delhi guiding and inspiring his followers in the duties of government as he had guided and inspired them in the struggle for freedom.

The salt tax was for him a crying symbol of India's servitude, a belief which he partly inherited from the Liberal leaders who directed the Congress in its early days. When the time came to fight British imperialism by openly breaking its laws, he made the violation of the law imposing the salt tax the principal war cry for his followers.

When freedom came, it was natural therefore, that he should fix upon the abolition of............salt duty as the foremost responsibility of his followers in office. Almost the next day after my assumption of the Finance Membership, he sent for me and insisted that I should take immediate steps to abolish the tax. I was not convinced at the time of the case for abolition from a purely economic point of view. I met him several times to discuss the subject and there was a frequent exchange of notes between us.

I would have preferred to postpone a final decision until I had time to examine it in the light of the general budgetary situation. This, however, did not satisfy him. In the end, we reached a settlement on the basis that while the production of salt would be free from duty, the government would themselves undertake large-scale manufacture of salt on up-to-date lines which, at a price not higher than privately produced salt, would yield a profit to the government and, at the same time, would enable the consumer to obtain salt of good quality.

This decision was finalised a few days before the Muslim League joined the Government. After Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan became the Finance Member, he decided to reopen the question and wanted

the Cabinet to go back on the decision already arrived at. This led to much friction between the two sections of the Cabinet. Since we had a majority and Lord Wavell was generally opposed to any attempt by the Coalition Cabinet to revise the decisions of its predecessor, the original decision was upheld.

No Steps

In implementing it, however, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, while abolishing the duty in his budget, took no steps for the large-scale expansion of the salt industry under government auspices which was an essential part of our scheme. Moreover, since the tax was removed, the Finance Department had little interest in the administration of salt and the whole subject remained neglected until it was transferred to the Industry and Supply Department after the partition.

The Coalition Government's budget which Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan presented in February 1947 has been the subject of much adverse comment and is still regarded in certain quarters as the main cause of India's economic ills in recent years.

My name came to be associated with it because of my rumoured responsibility for some of the more objectionable features of the budget. When Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan framed his budget, it was arranged by Lord Wavell that two Cabinet members from the Congress side should have an opportunity of examining the proposals a few days before they were presented to the Cabinet as a whole.

Budget proposals are seldom presented to the Cabinet earlier than the morning of the day they are submitted to Parliament and the Cabinet as a whole, therefore, has no voice in determining their impact on country's economy The two Cabinet members who were called in for a 'pre-view' of Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan's budget were naturally held responsible for it along with the Finance Member.

Pandit Nehru and I were the two Congress nominees. I still remember the scene of the meeting. It was held in the Viceroy's

study late in the evening after the Legislature had risen. Lord Wavell came to the meeting straight from a game of golf, still wearing his golf jacket and tweeds. The four of us sat round a little table and Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan read out the chief proposals.

The underlying idea of the proposals was that the Excess Profits tax had been removed too early and that it was necessary to find fresh taxes to take its place in view of the large estimated deficit. With this view I agreed. In fact, during my brief tenure of the Finance Department, I had myself asked the Central Board of Revenue to examine the possibility of finding new taxes to replace the Excess Profits tax.

Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan's main proposals were to increase the rate and scope of the super-tax and to introduce two new taxes, namely, the Capital Gains and Business Profits taxes. Industrial profits were still ruling high and large-scale evasion was still in progress. Conditions in this respect had in fact not materially changed since the war ended and it was obvious that the principal assumption on which Sir Archibald Rowlands had based his budget reliefs in the previous year, namely, that deflation was round the corner, was entirely falsified.

I agreed with Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan that the 1947 budget must proceed on the basis that war conditions still persisted. But I insisted that the new taxes must be regarded as purely temporary devices to be removed or modified as soon as conditions changed and that this should be stated in the budget speech. Pandit Nehru agreed in the view I took. Neither of us, of course, had any opportunity of seeing the text of the budget speech previously.

Bad Effect

In the way in which the tax proposals were embodied in his speech, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan seemed to assume the role of a tribune of the people launching a fiery crusade against the oppressors of the poor, principally Hindu businessmen in this case. I believe that in the conditions of early 1947, the taxes were logically justified, but the

taxes viewed against the romantic background of the budget speech produced a depressing psychological effect.

I became for a time very unpopular with the Congress Parliamentary Party for my connection with this budget. It fell to me later as Finance Minister to abolish both the Capital Gains and the Business Profits taxes and to reduce the burden of the super tax and, to my surprise, I found I was even more unpopular with the party than in 1947.

QUAID-I-AZAM AS SEEN BY KARAKA

As partition dominated the attainment of freedom, it was but logical that I should try and see the one man whose unceasing efforts had brought it about.

He was———JINNAH

I first met Jinnah in 1938 at his Bombay house on Little Gibbs Road, Malabar Hill, when he was looked upon as somewhat of a heretic even by his own co-religionists. "Pakistan" was then nothing more than a word in a Muslim League resolution, mocked at by the political 'pandits' in the country. Jinnah was at that time aware of his countrymen's mockery and if I read him rightly he seemed anxious to convince those few who occasionally went to him for an insight into this new idea.

The Jinnah of those days was politically not a self-possessed man, but a little unsure of himself, almost pleading for recognition of his cause. The one and a half hours I spent with him left me unconvinced that he would ever gather around him sufficient following and strength to make Pakistan an unchallengeable demand. He referred more than once that day to the justness of the Muslim cause but I failed to see at that time why all the justice the Muslims wanted could not come to them through men of unimpeachable character like Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru. There was, moreover, I now confess, some doubt in my mind about Jinnah's

sincerity. I was inclined to believe that he was playing up to the British.

A whole year had passed after that first meeting with Jinnah during which he floundered for recognition. Then he came into the news again. The British had taken more notice of him and I approached him once more for my paper, then the "Bombay Chronicle". My request was prompted by his last words at the former meeting, which were: "Come and see me whenever you want." But in the year that had passed Jinnah had changed. Perhaps the impatience in him had been responsible for the change, but he was a bitter man, very curt in his manner. The answer to my letter was a discourteous note from his secretary saying that Mr. Jinnah saw no purpose in giving an interview.

RESTLESS ENERGY

In New Delhi in June 1947 I tried again. His Secretary, Khurshid, with whom I spoke on the 'phone, seemed more affable on this occasion. He thought Mr. Jinnah would like to see me. He would ring me back later. He did so. I was to see Jinnah four days later at ten o'clock in the morning.

Mr. Jinnah's New Delhi residence was at 10, Aurangzeb Road. When I called, I was shown into an anteroom where I found him sitting on a green leather chair. A huge pile of unopened telegrams lay on a footstool beside him. They had come to him from all parts of the country, for the attainment of Pakistan was a personal triumph for him.

Immaculately dressed in a China silk suit, a gay, well-tailored striped shirt with a stiff turned-down collar, he looked pale and tired. The strain of the last few years had told on him. Now that he had won his cherished goal, the restless energy which had impelled him all those years seemed to have died down. The aftermath of victory was an intense mental fatigue and he showed a desire to want to relax at that moment, to take a breath before he launched once against on the greater task which lay ahead. He was now committed to the building of a new state from scratch.

An exuberance of emotion would have been understandable at that psychological moment but the Jinnah who received me that morning was calm and unruffled.

"You have come a long way since we first met at Little Gibbs Road," I said.

HIS OWN ADVISER

One had to concede him his achievement, however much one differed from his politics and his ideology. The Congress had always a galaxy of talent at their beck and call, but 'Jinnah had worked singlehanded.' When the British made any proposals, the Congress consulted whatever expert opinion it needed. To help the Congress was regarded by every patriotic Indian as the first article of his faith. 'But Jinnah was his own adviser, his own economist, his own financial genius, his own expert on partition, economics, industry and on the manifold questions of administration, franchise and constitution which arose on every such occasion. He was an organization unto himself. Every thing that happened in the name of the Muslim League really happened in his own house, which was also his office, with just a handful of secretaries doing the routine work for him'. The judgement and decisions of the Muslim League were really those of Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Right or wrong, he had the courage to make them. He had the allegiance of his people to implement those decisions. The team spirit of the Muslim League under the captaincy of Jinnah was one of the most impressive achievements of the party. But for it, it is doubtful whether Pakistan would ever have come into being.

I was a little hesitant as to how he would receive me. More than once I had written disparagingly of his determination to divide what I considered to be my country and my people. But Jinnah was the essence of courtesy that morning. He seemed gracious in the hour of his triumph.

Then he began, "I want you to know that this is not to be an interview in the ordinary sense of the word. The question you would

ask me I will not be in a position to answer. You will want to know what form and shape Pakistan will take, what our policy will be on various matters. It is too soon for me to give you any answer now. We have only just begun."

He picked up a cigar. I did not interrupt his thoughts, for I wanted him to set the pace of this interview.

"There is an odd reason for my sending for you to day. I wanted to see you and tell you something I have been meaning to tell you for quite some time."

I thought I had it coming to me and that he wanted to refer to my frequent criticisms of Pakistan in the columns of the "Bombay Chronicle."

But in slow, deliberate terms Jinnah said to me: "Your heart has always been in unity and you have helped a different point of view from ours. I have read the things you have written and while we differed all the way it was gratifying to find someone on the other side who was able to see that we too had a point of view. You fought hard against us but I respected you because you wrote out of a conviction and not for money."

I was somewhat taken aback. Jinnah did not often indulge in compliments to those with whom he had political differences. He put me a little off my stride.

I changed the subject then and asked him whether with the coming of partition he would look back to India from Pakistan or whether he would henceforth look the other way—towards the pan-Islamic belt formed by Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and further on towards Turkey, to Kurdestan and other Islamic areas.

Jinnah replied: "Don't ask me these questions now. The future will decide these issues. Right now we part friends and we should remain friends."

He then told me how Mahatma Gandhi had asked him during the talks which broke down: "Can't we put our heads together and save the division?"

Jinnah continued: "How could it be saved? What expression would Muslims have in a strong Hindu state. Anyhow all that is finished now. All talk of saving the division is behind us. Partition has now become a fact. We have to accept it as such."

When he spoke of the Indian Congress and its leaders, he was intensely bitter. How he hated them! This bitterness he had infused into the Muslims of India. It had been his best political weapon. It had brought him Pakistan. But it had also been the direct cause of the civil war which took a heavy toll of innocent lives, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh.

Some of Jinnah's observations on the Congress that day left an indelible mark on my mind. He said: "There is no real tolerance in them. They have no real desire to give and take. It has to be a clear and clean parting, Karaka! It has to be so. To my mind there is no other way. I mean it."

There was emotion in his voice. In the stillness that followed, he added in a soft, mellow, dejected voice: "They say it is my pride that has made me fight for Pakistan. I have no self-pride of that sort. I go to the humblest and poorest people."

"How many of the Muslims do you think you take with you to Pakistan?" I asked him.

"As many as want to come."

I told him I had seen Azad earlier that morning and that Azad was confident that Sylhet would go with the Congress but that of the North-West Frontier he was not too sure.

Jinnah gave a gentle mocking laugh.

"Which way would you vote if you were a Muslim?" he asked

me. He shook his head and I could read his thought. The old Maulana is well-meaning but stupid, he seemed to say. He did not say it of course.

"The Congress's whole upbringing is like that," he continued. "They only see their own point of view and insist that their point of view is the only one. Nothing anyone says to the contrary will convince them that they are wrong. Let us wait and see how Sylhet and the Frontier vote."

Jinnah was right. Both areas voted solidly for him. But Maulana Abul Kalam Azad became the Minister for Education in the new Indian Government. It was the Congress's reward for his loyalty.

(*D. F. Karaka in the "Current"*, *Bombay*).

COMMENT

Mr. Hatim Alavi's letter of Sept. 23 offers a classic example of how political history or biography should not be written.

He concedes that the Nehru Report supported the Muslim demands for the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency and full provincial autonomy for the NWFP. But he is allergic to joint electorates; he therefore holds that since the Nehru Report had provided for such electorates, Pakistan Television was right in telling its viewers, without any reservations, that the Report had rejected the Muslim demands in respect of Sind and the NWFP. "Joint electorates" he says "made nonsense of both these". But Mr. Alavi's own argument hardly makes sense.

The Nehru Report was not concerned merely with the question of provincial autonomy; it provided an entire framework for the constitution of a free India. Joint electorates formed one of the many planks of the scheme; among the others were the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency and full provincial status for the

NWFP and Baluchistan.

These provisions were not only meant to satisfy Muslim aspirations but were also in accord with the principle of a linguistic redistribution of provinces, adopted by the Indian National Congress as far back as 1921. The Congress, says the Report "recognized this linguistic principle eight years ago and since then, so far as the Congress machinery is concerned, India has been divided into linguistic provinces" (p 62).

The Nehru Committee's endorsement of these Muslim demands in respect of Sind, the Frontier Province and Baluchistan, was positive and unequivocal. In the case of Sind, it fully discussed, and finally rejected all the arguments advanced against separation.

It is hard to see how joint electorates were designed to stultify the provincial autonomy conceded to Sind, the NWFP and Baluchistan, where the Muslim majority ranged between 74 and 95 per cent.

It is also a matter of historical record that Muslim political opinion was not as allergic to joint electorates then as it became later, or as Mr. Hatim Alvi seems to be even now.

Mr. Jinnah's devotion to the principle of joint electorates during the first twenty years of his political career is part of our political history. In 1906, writes the Aga Khan in his Memories, "Mr. Jinnah said that our principle of separate electorates was dividing the nation against itself, and for nearly a quarter of a century he remained our most inflexible critic and opponent."

Indeed, about a year before the Nehru Committee was set up, a conference of Muslim leaders held at Delhi under the chairmanship of Mr. Jinnah had conditionally accepted joint electorates with communal reservations. Among the conditions were the separation of Sind and the grant of full provincial status to the NWFP and Baluchistan. And a few months later, the acceptance had been endorsed in principle at the annual sessions of the All-India Muslim League at Calcutta.

The Nehru Report was rejected by large sections of Muslim opinion not because it recommended joint electorates but because it failed to meet most of the conditions on which the Muslims were prepared to abandon separate electorates, the most important being the vesting of residuary powers in the provinces rather than in the Federation, and the reservation for Muslims of one-third of the seats in the federal legislature.

Even Mr. Jinnah's famous fourteen points, originally presented by way of amendments to the Nehru Report, did not reject joint electorates outright:. they left the door open for "any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of a joint electorate".

As to Mr. Alavi's version of the influences that persuaded Mr. Jinnah to return home in 1934, it only serves to strengthen my doubts about the TV's assertion that Iqbal was instrumental in the decision.

Karachi. *Zedes*

QUAID'S 'RETURN' FROM 'SELF-EXILE'

BOLITHO'S THEORY

According to Mr. Bolitho, Begum Liaquat Ali Khan told him that she, along with her husband, met the Quaid at his West Heath House in July 1933 and begged him to return to India.

Mr. Bolitho writes:—

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, born in 1896, was Jinnah's junior by twenty years. His education has been broader, and richer: he had graduated from Aligarh in 1918, and had then gone to Exeter College, Oxford where his political ideas began to stir. He took part in undergraduate debates, and was secretary of the Indian Majlis.

He was called to the Bar in the Inner Temple in 1922, and returned to India in the same year. But he did not practise the law:

he became a politician immediately, and in 1926 he was elected to the Legislative Council of the United Provinces.

Liaquat Ali Khan was the ally Jinnah needed. Jinnah's appeal had always been to the 'educated' Indians—the phrase occurs often in his speeches. He described himself as a proletarian, but he had never made himself, or his ideas, known to the masses. It was part of Liaquat Ali Khan's talent that he could charm vast, illiterate audiences, and that he was not over-ambitious. In the years that followed, when Jinnah enjoyed his own omnipotence, Liaquat Ali Khan did not mind: indeed, it was part of his nature that he enjoyed the subtle rewards of second place. He was to become the brilliant administrator: the builder of Jinnah's architectural design. Jinnah was to find in him the complement to his own talent: together, they were to become inviolable, because they formed one mind, and the trust between them remained absolute, to the end. A great part of the fortunes of Pakistan were decided on the day, in July 1933, when Liaquat Ali Khan crossed Hampstead Heath, to talk to his exiled leader.

Begum Liaquat Ali Khan has spoken of the friendship between Mohammed Ali Jinnah and her husband, and of their meeting at Hampstead. "They had known each other from 1928—at the Calcutta Conference where Jinnah was so humiliated. You will remember how he was cried down as not being in any sense an accepted leader of the Muslims. Liaquat was one of those who stood by him: he had always admired Jinnah, and believed in him as much then as he did at the end.

"We were married early in 1933 and we decided to go to Europe for our honeymoon. You must remember the circumstances of Muslim politics at that time. The Muslim League was in a degraded state; the finances were being misused and the League had neither dignity nor power. The cause had gone downhill—seemingly beyond recall. Liaquat had the belief that Jinnah was the one man who could save the League, and the Muslims. But Jinnah was in England: it was believed that he would never come back and that he was disgusted with his own people.

"Liaquat and I arrived in London and we met Jinnah at a reception. Liaquat immediately began his appeal to Jinnah to return. I remember him saying, 'They need someone who is unpurchasable.' It was a word my husband liked. And it was true; Jinnah was unpurchasable. He listened, but he did not answer at first: he talked of his life in England, and of his contentment at Hampstead. But Liaquat was not to be denied. He said, 'You must come back. The people need you. You alone can put new life into the League and save it.'

Jinnah suddenly said, 'Well, come to dinner on Friday.'

"So we drove to Hampstead. It was a lovely evening. And his big house, with trees—apple trees, I seem to remember. And Miss Jinnah, attending to all his comforts. I felt that nothing could move him out of that security.

"After dinner. Liaquat repeated his plea, that the Muslims wanted Jinnah and needed him."

"I had hero-worshipped Mr. Jinnah for a long time. I chirped in 'And I'll make the women work for you; I'll bring them back into the fold.' He smiled at me and said 'You are young; you do not know the women; you do not know the world.' But he listened to Liaquat, and in the end he said, "You go back and survey the situation; test the feelings of all parts of the country. I trust your judgement. If you say 'Come back,' I'll give up my life here and return."

"Liaquat was a very happy man as we drove back to London. We sailed for India and, for some months, my husband devoted every day to his journeys and his enquiries. You know, he was the most thorough man I have ever known. He amassed his evidence—talked to a hundred people—and only when he was convinced, he wrote to Jinnah and said 'Come'."

Writing editorially on 25th December under the headline "Portraying the Quaid", we made the point that Mr. Hector Bolithos' book "Jinnah—the Creator of Pakistan" gives currency to unsubs-

tantiated theories. One of them we pointed out, was that the "return" of the Quaid, in 1934, from his "self-exile" in London was entirely inspired by the late Prime Minister. We consider it only fair that the portion dealing with this aspect should be published in full. We should be glad for any comment from those who have any knowledge on the point.—Editor.

Times of Karachi.

Jinnah —The Creator of Pakistan—Part VIII-5.

BATTLE AGAINST DISEASE

By Hector Bolitho

During these weeks of illness in Lahore, the Quaid was the guest of the Governor of the West Punjab, Sir Francis Mudie, who had known him, through many hazards and arguments, since 1936.

It is perhaps touching that Jinnah should have endured these terrible crises, as Governor-General of free Pakistan, while he was the guest of an Englishman—one who had stayed and who wrote, 'Jinnah impressed me more, I think, than anyone else I have ever met, and I was very fond of him......It is difficult to say why.... He was cold —at least, that was the impression he gave—but I never found him harsh. He was, of course, hard. He never, if he could help it, compromised.... Officially, until the end, when he was obviously very ill, I found him open to reason, or at least to argument......I got to know that I could trust him absolutely. He was thoroughly loyal to those who had supported him in the past.

'In judging Jinnah, we must remember what he was up against. He had against him not only the wealth and brains of the Hindus, but also nearly the whole of British officialdom, and most of the Home politicians, who made the great mistake of refusing to take Pakistan seriously. Never was his position really examined.'

Sir Francis Mudie has recalled, 'He was in bed in my home in Lahore for three weeks....and never, even by a sign, indicated that he would not shortly be all right again.'

Mental Strain

On December 1, Quaid-i-Azam returned to Karachi from Lahore. Colonel Birnie wrote in his diary, 'I was quite definitely shocked to see him. He left here five weeks ago, looking 60 years of age. Now he looks well over 80......I drove from the airport with him and Miss Jinnah and felt most sorry for him. He openly said that his fever was due to mental strain and that he prayed for a chance of getting away, anywhere, where nobody could worry him, for at least a fortnight.'

Two days later, the Governor-General seemed 'stronger'. Colonel Birnie had arranged a ceremony—'the Bodyguard posted and all the Staff in Full Dress white, and civilians in morning coats'—to receive the Envoy Extraordinary and Special Representative of the King of Afghanistan.' The Quaid 'went through the ceremony well'.

Last Birthday

As Christmas Day came near—Jinnah's last birthday—he enjoyed a refreshment of spirit. No occasion showed this more pleasantly than the night when he dined with the officers of the Royal Scots, before they sailed for home. It was a grand dinner, with silver trophies on the tables, pipers, and wines most carefully chosen. At the end, the Princess Royal was toasted, as Colonel-in-Chief of the Regiment; then the King. It is an old rule with the Royal Scots that no further toasts are proposed at dinner, but , on this occasion, the commanding officer rose and said, looking at Quaid-i-Azam. "Your Excellency, it is such an honour to have you with us that I am going to break tradition. We consider ourselves good fighters: we consider you to be a good fighter also." The Quaid stood up, and said, "Gentlemen, may I further break the tradition of your regiment and reply? I shall never forget the British who have stayed

in Pakistan to help us begin our work; this I shall never forget."

On the way home in the car, Jinnah opened his heart to Colonel Birnie, and spoke of his debt to his sister for her long years of devotion to him, and for the way in which she had helped to lead the women of Pakistan towards emancipation. He spoke also of his admiration for the British: he said, "Yes, that is the thing you have got—that is it—traditions are the strength of your country."

Personal Precautions

There had been only one continuous disagreement between the Quaid and his Military Secretary: the Colonel could not induce Mr. Jinnah to sanction arrangements for his own protection, which seemed necessary with so many wild assassins at large. He had asked for authority to build a high wall that would shut off the part of Government House in which the Quaid lived. When the plan was first proposed, Jinnah had answered, "It is very nice of you to take precautions, but I am not the sort of Governor-General you have used to. I am one of the people. No harm will come to me."

Colonel Birnie had protested, "But a Hindu might shoot you," and Mr. Jinnah had repeated, "No, I am here with my people. No harm will come to me." He had added the characteristic remark, "Anyhow, it is a waste of money."

The Colonel's term, as Military Secretary was almost ended and the Quaid had asked him 'to start looking for a suitable substitute.' Colonel Birnie wrote, 'I gather he again wants an Englishman.' But, it seemed, he would have to depart having lost this one battle, over the protecting wall. Then, events suddenly helped him to final victory. On January 30, 1948—soon before Colonel Birnie sailed for England—Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated, in New Delhi.

Quaid-i-Azam was staying at his little beach house, a few miles from Karachi, when the news reached him. He drove back to Government House, and, while walking up the stairs with Colonel Birnie, he said, "About that wall—you can start building it immediately."

Behold him in the evening tide of life..........

By unperceived degrees he wears away;

Yet, like the sun, seems larger at his setting........

Jamshed Nusserwanjee, the old Parsee friend who was so fond of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, sought him one day in the garden of Government House and found him dozing on a seat. The Quaid loomed up and said, "I am so tired, Jamshed, so tired." This was early in February, 1948, six months after Jinnah had flown in to claim his realm.

He had always been too busy to sit out of doors and doze like this. When he owned his first garden, on Malabar Hill in Bombay, in the early days of his political career, he would hurry along the paths in the morning, complaining if the flowers were mixed. "Like a jungle", he would say. He liked phlox and petunias in nice straight lines, but he never paused to pick a flower, and seldom sat in idleness to enjoy the view.

Contemplation

The Quaid's habits changed during the last year of his life: he would sometimes sit in the garden of Government House and permit what was a novelty to him—moments of contemplation in the shade, followed by a short nap, sometimes, while walking through the garden, he would bend down and pick a carnation for his coat.

One morning, also in February, Mr. Ian Stephens went to see the Quaid. He wrote afterwards—at that time, though no one realized it, the creator of Pakistan was dying, his lungs riddled with the unsuspected tuberculosis which a few months later killed him. The Quaid had kept his secret—the warning of the Bombay doctors, three and a half years before.

Mr. Stephens wrote, "Mr Jinnah looked better than when I had seen him shortly before Partition, and I said so. During an unexpec-

tedly long interview, 70 minutes, which baffled his secretaries, he ranged widely over the course of Indo-Pakistani affairs during the previous seven months—a dramatic, fascinating story, as told by such a man. At the end, the Quaid said, "Yes, Mr. Stephens, thank you, I feel better; I am better. They say I have been ill. I have not. I know. I get tired."

The 'thin, handsome lips moved with the restrained, characteristic smile' as Quaid-i-Azam went on, "It is natural that I should. I am not young. I have responsibilities....So, when I get tired, Mr. Stephens, I rest. It is simple. I tell my doctors to go away. I know what to do. I will not have them fussing; they might annoy me. No, I was not ill at all."

Integrity and Charm

Each man is a hundred men within himself, so that he presents a different facet to almost every being he meets. The many who had known Jinnah disagreed as to his hardness of heart, his solitariness, and his charm, but, from the beginning to the end, no one ever doubted his integrity. Sir Stafford Cripps, who first knew him in the early 1930's, regarded him as 'a man of the highest probity and honour; difficult to negotiate with, for the very reason that he was so determined in his purpose.' Field-Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck said of Jinnah, "I admired him; his tenacity and tremendous personality—his inexorable determination." Lord Wavell, with whom Mr. Jinnah had failed in friendship, sighed when he was asked for his opinion, and said, "He was a very difficult man to deal with."

The Times of Karachi.

Jinnah—The Creator of Pakistan—Part VIII—4

DESPAIR OVER KASHMIR

Genocide of Muslims

By Hector Bolitho

The perils and anxieties continued; during a 'top-level party' given by Quaid-i-Azam on September 7, where some fifty people

came to meet the Shaikh of Kuwait, there was a demonstration at the gates of Government House.

Colonel Birnie had to leave the party, 'a pleasant affair held near the swimming pool,' to quell some three hundred 'employees of the secretariat' who demanded to see the Quaid. The Colonel wrote:

I....tried to persuade them to appoint one or two leaders who would come forward and state their case. I soon realized that they had no leaders and were merely all upset at the rumours of massacres of their families in East Punjab .... One could not sufficiently sympathize with them, and I had already instructed the police to handle them with the utmost patience. They declared they would not leave until the Quaid came and spoke to them....Eventually he came out on to the back upstairs verandah of his rooms, and addressed them, briefly, saying that everything possible was being done to help in getting their families out. He then instructed them to keep discipline and leave the grounds.

Immense Popularity

Immediately, there were cries of 'Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad'. The crowds then marched out without any fuss, Jinnah undoubtedly has great authority over these people and one wonders who can possibly, eventually, take his place.

The Quaid would not confess his weariness, even to himself: late each night, he worked at his desk, trying, with the quite appeal of the written word, to cool the passions of the refugees. The reports that came in each day were terrible. Colonel Birnie wrote, also on September 7, of 'a very bad week, in Delhi. Sikhs, 'in organized bands,' had 'broken into Muslim shops and looted them'; they 'held up cars and murdered many Muslims they could lay their hands on.' In Delhi alone, 'somewhere between 1,500 and 2,000 Muslims' had been killed. The Colonel continued, in his diary:

Troubles

To add to our troubles in forming a new Dominion, we have now to organize mass distribution of food and medicine to thousands of destitute people and to move literally hundreds of thousands out of

India into Pakistan, where, incidentally, there are no houses for them...

These countless thousands must now be wondering whether life under British rule, under which they had complete security, was not better than their now desperate plight.

This last year of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's life was saddened by his despair over the fate of Kashmir. Lord Mountbatten had advised the rulers of the five hundred and sixty-five Indian States to accede to one or other of the new Dominions, before the transfer of power. Their choice, of Pakistan or Hindustan, had been determined by expediency— by their geographical position in relation to the new frontiers, or by the predominance of Hindus or Muslims in their population. All but the rulers of Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir had agreed. The fortunes of beautiful Kashmir—the source of three of the great rivers that flowed into West Pakistan—were governed by different factors: the chief and most alarming was that this predominantly Muslim State was ruled by a Hindu Maharaja, an insensitive despot, both rich and powerful.

There was also, in Kashmir, a ruling class of Hindus—Kashmiri Brahmins—whose loyalties drew them towards Hindustan. Many of them had become important leaders in Indian politics, and their voices were powerful in the councils of Delhi. Chief of them was Pandit Nehru, whose emotions over his native land were described when he said to a British army officer, "In the same way that Calais was written on Mary's heart, Kashmir is written on mine.

Thus, at the time of Partition, Kashmir was herself tragically divided. A multitude of middle-class and poor Muslims—who formed eighty per cent of Kashmir's population—and who saw their only slavation in joining Pakistan were dominated by a powerful Hindu minority, and ruled by a Hindu who wanted to accede to India, but who was naturally alarmed by the dangerous strength of his own people, and afraid to declare his mind.

Confusion

This confusion of loyalties led to the first considerable dilemma in the affairs of divided India. Within fifteen days of Partition, Lord

Mountbatten had become so alarmed at the prospect of conflict in Kashmir that he asked Lord Ismay "to do his best to get the Maharaja to make up his vacillating mind,' and induce him to accede without further delay to whichever Dominion he and his people desire........"

The Maharaja would not decide, and while he boggled and intrigued for his own profit, his people acted for him. At the end of August his Muslim subjects in Poonch—part of western Kashmir that bordered on Pakistan—revolted and formed their own Azad (Free) Kashmir Government. The Maharaja then ordered his troops to expel thousands of Muslims from the district of Jammu. On October 24, news reached Quaid-i-Azam in Karachi that five thousand guerrilla tribesmen from the North-West Frontier had crossed into Kashmir to help their fellow Muslims. Two days later, the Maharaja declared his mind: he acceded to India and asked for the support of Indian troops. The terrible, long tragedy had begun, and on that day, October 26, Mr. Jinnah flew to Lahore, to be nearer, and able to watch the fate of the Muslims in Kashmir.

Colonel Brue wrote in his diary:

The Quaid and Miss Jinnah left for Lahore on Sunday.... Quaid's visit is in connection with the troubles in Kashmir, which are becoming very serious. Mountbatten is to join him in Lahore to discuss the problem. The whole situation is really shocking: the root of the matter is that neither community has the lightest confidence in the other; they both thoroughly distrust each other.

Jinnah has many high principles, and many of his apparent indecisions are due to the fact that he is in doubt as to what line is the correct one to follow. He refuses to decide until he has sifted the question from every point of view. His principles, although broadcast to all and sundry, have little apparent effect on his people.... We must not forget that some of them, in fact, millions, have lost everything they possessed and are desperate, and so easily led to senseless revenge.

Two phrases from this entry in Colonel Birnie's diary apply

grimly to the tasks that the Quaid had to face when he arrived in Lahore. The Colonel wrote of Jinnah's refusal 'to decide' until he had 'sifted the question from every point of view,' and of 'senseless revenge.' As Governor-General, he had to sift a question of dreadful magnitude, immediately. Indian troops were being flown into Kashmir and the land was horrible with 'senesless revenge'. The Quaid wished to send in his half-formed army, to protect the Muslims. Field-Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck flew to Lahore at an hour's notice and reasoned with the Quaid: he explained that the presence of Indian troops in Kashmir was justified, since the Maharaja had acceded: any action by the Pakistan army would force him to withdraw all British officers, including the Commanders-in-Chief of both India and Pakistan. The desperate move was abandoned.

Soon after this crisis, the Quaid—melancholy and ill was obliged to stay in bed. Colonel Birnie wrote:

Quaid-i-Azam is still in Lahore and is being kept there as he still runs a low temperature and it is not wise for him to make the air journey. Everything is, as a consequence, at a standstill. Any file sent by me to the Private Secretary is either not shown him at all (presumably on the doctor's advice) or else comes back with the remark that he cannot attend to it until he returns here, and, as that date is indeflnite, nobody knows what to do. Even the Ministers are devastated as they can get no decisions on anything.

The Times of Karachi

QUAID—FRIEND, PHILOSOPHER AND GUIDE

Quaid-i-Azam, the uncrowned king of Pakistan prior to partition whom the Muslim masses of the Sub-continent venerated and adored, was a friend, philoshopher and guide to the rising generation of the school and the college alumni of those days.

The battles of England, it is said, were fought on the playfields of Eton and Harrow. The war of Muslim liberation in India which was conceived and planned in and around the hallowed precincts of

the Mount Pleasant Road (Bombay) was executed and launched on the virgin soil of the Muslim youth and intellegentsia whose bulk was drawn from the student community. To such a supremely important element in the national life, the Quaid-i-Azam was intensely devoted.

KINDLY SPIRIT

"Never was there a nature" wrote Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, "whose outer qualities provided so complete an antithesis of its inner worth." The picturesque heights of Malabar Hills enshrine within their bosom the four-walls of a stately structure whose frigid, august atmosphere was the deceptive sheath of a spirit of exceptional kindliness and thoughtful consideration. To this lonely and kindly spot I gravitated many a time during my student days for valuable guidance and advice.

In 1943 I received a call for a Commission in the Indian Army. Before proceeding to the Officer's Training School, Banglore, I went to the Quaid-i-Azam and asked for his advice in the matter. Those were the days when the Indian National Congress was in the wilderness and the Muslim League had been adopting a lukewarm attitude to the war effort, of course, for different reasons. With this context in view, I requested the Quaid-i-Azam for advice whether or not I should avail myself of the call for King's Commission.

LESSON OF SELF-HELP

The Quaid-i-Azam reflected gravely for a moment and said, "Listen, young man, suppose I advise you today to join the Army and you act on my advice. Tomorrow if you face any difficulty in your career, you will rush to me for a solution. As it is, today I have no power, I am not running the Government. I have no control over the administration. Therefore, I will not be able to help you out of the difficulty. Then, you and your parents will blame me. So you act on your own and listen to the voice of your own conscience. That's all." In these words he taught me the lesson of self-help, self-confidence and self-reliance.

The last plenary session of the All-India Muslim League was to be held in December 1943 at Karachi. The selection of the National Guards to form the Bombay Contingent was in progress long ahead. In the mad rush of "Pick and Choose" the Salar of the Bombay Provincial Muslim National Guards had totally ignored the claim of the Suburban College National Guards to accompany the Contingent. The matter was serious and I was deputed to make a representation to the Quaid-i-Azam.

CONSTITUTIONALIST

Without an advance appointment, I ran up to the Quaid's residence in the evening. Mr. Sharifuddin Perzada, the Secretary, who is now an outstanding lawyer of Karachi, received me in his office and I placed before him the list of our grievances and requested him to arrange for an interview with the Quaid. The Secretary took the representation upstairs and returned after some time smiling. He said the Quaid was glad that we thought of him in the hour of difficulty. But as the President of the All-India Muslim League, he was reluctant to interfere in a Provincial affair. However, he had directed the Secretary to forward the application to the Local League Chief with a covering letter, which had its desired effect and our College National Guards did attend the Karachi Session. Here I discovered the advantage of being constitutional and methodical in one's approach to life's problems.

In response to my request for an interview in August, 1945, I got a letter that the Quaid-i-Azam will be pleased to receive me for a few minutes at 10-30 a.m. At the appointed hour, I was conducted into his living room upstairs, and I settled down on a sofa by his side and noticed a heap of newspapers on the floor. The Quaid was going through a letter very carefully. During the conversation I referred to the collection raised by our College Students for the League Fund. The Quaid then referred me to the letter which was written by Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Defence Member, Viceroy's Executive Council and expressed his admiration for the donation—I do not exactly remember the amount, probably it was a cheque for Rs. 5,000 enclosed with the letter. Meanwhile at 10-45 a.m. the white-liveried

Pathan Chowkidar leaned forward with a visiting card in the silver tray. I glanced at it and discovered that the name read: Sir Ghulam Mohammad. The Quaid-i-Azam asked the Chowkidar—he addressed him as Gul Mohammad—to make the visitor seated in the room downstairs, and turned to me saying, "Well young man, we shall meet again." Then I realized the significance of the expression "will be pleased to received you for a few minutes." My time was upto 10-45 a.m. and another interview was to begin.

However, in my youthful zeal to remain with the Quaid as long as possible, I 'pestered' him with a question before taking his leave. The Quaid replied to my question with his characteristic thoroughness, vehemence and passion which took about 10 minutes. Then as he was preparing to smile me a polite adieu, I obtained his permission to ask yet another question, and by the time he had finished his answer and I was on my feet, it was 11.15 a.m.

As I was tip-toeing my way across the passage on the ground floor, I observed Sir Ghulam Mohammad giving me a "once over" and wondering who it could be that set the clock back for him. Certainly, he could never guess that it was a student.

Karachi *M. A. Harris*

MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH GREATEST MUSLIM OF THE CENTURY

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Founder and Architect of Pakistan began his career as a hard-working and astute lawyer. Later he entered politics as a bold and honest politician, whose aim was to work constitutionally for the freedom of united India.

He liked to work persistently and peacefully according to plan. But nature had willed it otherwise. She meant to use him for a different purpose. He was to be no mere planner of a peaceful evolution, but was gradually to develop into a "Communalist'," and a great "Rebel" whose role was to "Disrupt" the unity of British India,

and to bring into existence a new nation and a new country—Pakistan.

To realize and appreciate fully how this metamorphosis and this revolution took place, we shall briefly review the career of this extraordinary man.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born in Karachi on 25th December, 1876. He went to England for his studies and was there called to the Bar in 1896. In 1906 he entered politics and joined the Indian National Congress. He was a staunch Indian Nationalist, and it was not till 1913 that he became a member of the All-India Muslim League. He soon realized that the demand of the League for separate Electorates for the Muslims was a just one.

In 1916 Jinnah presided at the Annual Session of the League, and it was solely due to his efforts that the Congress and the League held their Annual Sessions that year simultaneously at Lucknow and arrived at an important understanding. It was this famous "Lucknow Pact" of 1916, which forced the hands of the British Government to make the declaration of self-Government for India in August, 1917.

REFORMS

Jinnah was foremost in criticising the proposed political reforms of 1918, as being totally inadequate. But at the same time he was also entirely at variance with Gandhi, when the latter proposed non-co-operation as the remedy. Jinnah soon parted company with the Congress, but inspite of this he did not relax his efforts for an understanding between Hindus and Muslims.

Jinnah formed the Nationalist Party in the Central Assembly (1921); he took part in the All-Parties Conference (1925); he helped to formulate the Delhi Muslim Proposals, whereby the Muslim Community undertook to accept joint electorates on certain conditions (1927); he tried, in vain, to plead for Communal Agreement in the Nehru Committee (1928); he formulated his "14 points" (1929); and then he tried hard to reconcile the Hindu and Muslim

points of view at the Round Table Conference (1930 - 32). But it was all of no avail; so he temporarily retired from politics in 1933.

But the Indian Muslims, who at this time found themselves leaderless strongly appealed to Jinnah to come to their rescue. He responded to their request (1934) . Once more he tried to reconcile Hindu-Muslim differences, and for two years co-operated with the Congress Party in the Central Assembly (1934 - 36). On the eve of the Elections, he did his best to settle the outstanding differences with the Congress leaders, with whom he entered into a protracted correspondence (1937-38). But all his attempts proved fruitless. The Congress secured a majority in seven out of eleven provinces in India and refused to have anything to do with the League except on their own terms and this practically meant the liquidation of any separate organisation for the Muslims.

CLARION CALL

At this Jinnah made a clarion call to the Muslims of India, who rallied round the Muslim League flag at Lucknow as they had never done before (October, 1937). The Muslim League Organization soon became a Muslim Mass Movement, and grew from strength to strength.

It was a critical time for the Muslims of India. The Congress appeared to dominate, and the British Government was favourably inclined to it. Many of the older politicians were either pro-Congress, or pro-British or simply neutral or hypocritical, with an eye on their own selfish interests.

It was an unequal struggle; the scales were weighed heavily against the Muslims. But with the glorious ideal of Islamic democracy placed before them by their great poet-philosopher Iqbal, and the judicious and bold political lead given to them by Jinnah, they forged a united front and went into battle regardless of consequences.

In March, 1940 Jinnah addressed the Muslims at Lahore, where at the momentous Muslim League Annual Session more than a

hundred thousand people listened to him and passed the famous Pakistan Resolution unanimously. The die was cast.

Unfortunately, the Congress leaders did not gauge the situation correctly. The Gandhi-Jinnah talks failed (1944), the Simla Wavell Conference (1945) foundered on the rock of Muslim "dissidents", and last but not the least the Cabinet Mission Plan (1946) came to a sorry end, because inspite of its acceptance by the Muslim League, neither the Congress nor the British Government took a rational stand or followed a just and consistent policy.

Jinnah felt dejected at this rather unexpected development, but with this seeming set-back his determination rose to a high pitch. Important events happened in quick succession. The League passed the Civil Disobedience Resolution. Muslims were massacred in Calcutta and subsequently in Bihar. The Muslim League joined the Central Government at Delhi (October 1946). And then Jinnah went to London in December, when the British Government was forced to modify their pro-Congress policy.

The Hindus and Sikhs were amazed at the Muslim expression and practice of non-violence. The British Government gave way and made a declaration (February 1947) which later culminated in a formal acceptance of the Muslim demand for Pakistan in June 1947. As a consequence Pakistan was established on 14th August 1947 with Jinnah as the first Governor-General of the newly-created Dominion.

The Quaid-i-Azam had achieved a miracle, by the grace of God, through his own determination and the spirit of self-sacrifice shown by the Muslim masses of India.

CHARACTER

The Quaid-i-Azam combined in his person many qualities of head and heart, but what appealed most to the Indian Muslims was his genuineness and his boldness. When he was a Congress-man he was a sincere Congress-man. When he genuinely felt that Hindus and

Muslims should come to a political understanding, he devoted himself to the task day and night and became known as the "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity". For almost thirty years (1913-40), he worked hard to find a common ground between the two communities. But when at last he substitute felt convinced that his own community was in imminent danger of being wiped out in the political arena of Indian nationalism, he boldly stepped forward and unfurled the Muslim flag, telling the world in plain language that this was the only way for the achievement of Indian freedom and the only way in which the rights of Indian Muslims as human beings could be adequately safeguarded.

As soon as the Quaid-i-Azam began the Pakistan campaign, he was openly ridiculed and maliciously criticised particularly by the Hindu Press. But the Muslim intelligentsia and the masses fervently ralled to his side. This was enough for a dynamic leader like Jinnah. Henceforth, inspite of a thousand difficulties and dangers, he was optimistic and full of zeal, and besides had a word of cheer for every timid or wavering individual in his camp.

During the last stage of his brilliant career the Quaid-i-Azam set a definite goal before the people and helped them to become a self-respecting and self-sacrificing nation.

After the achievement of Pakistan, his worries, instead of diminishing, multiplied, because of the multifarious problems facing the young nation. Even so, inspite of failing health, he stood at his post to the last, dauntless, and with full faith in the destiny of the people whom he had brilliantly led in their struggle for national freedom.

The Quaid-i-Azam was not satisfied with the achievement of Pakistan. He realized that only the foundation had been laid and the great structure was yet to be raised. During the first year of Pakistan's independence, which was also to be the last year of his life, he called upon his people to be up and doing, and to forge ahead with faith and determination. His life-giving words uttered during this initial period of trials and troubles, still ring true in our ears. "We have won the battle for Pakistan's freedom", he said, "but the grimmer

battle for the preservation of that freedom is still in progress." "We are going through fire; the sunshine has yet to come....We must have faith, unity and discipline....I call upon every Muslim, man and woman, in Pakistan to fortify themselves against their present sorrows, for the establishment of their national state." And he consoled them, and cheered them and exhorted them thus to work and live for the highest moral and spiritual values:

"God often tests and tries those whom he loves.... To day God is testing and trying the Muslims of Pakistan and India....Dark clouds surround us on all sides for the moment but we are not daunted... I am confident that inspite of its magnitude, we shall overcome this grave crisis... and show to the world that the State exists not for life, but for good life."

His vision was both penetrating and inspiring. "We are living in a far from perfect world, " he told the Boy Scouts," Despite the progress of civilization, the law of the jungle prevails. If we are to build a safer, cleaner and happier world let us start with the individual, catch him young, and inculcate in him the Scout's motto of Service before self, and purity in thought, word and deed. I am sanguine that the attainment of Universal brotherhood is possible and within our reach."

The fact that Pakistan inspite of its many trials and tribulations during the last 20 years, has won for itself an enviable place in the comity of nations redounds to the credit of its founder Mohammad Ali Jinnah, one of the greatest political leaders of the modern world.

Lahore *Mian Bashir Ahmad*

An episode from the life of the Quaid

Syed Shamsul Hasan, former Assistant Secretary, All-India Muslim League, has compiled, with an exhaustive introduction and explanatory notes, a selection of the Quaid-i-Azam's correspondence. It is under print. An interesting episode is reproduced here:—

In March 1945, during his stay in Delhi, the Quaid fell ill and was treated by Dr. Albert Batty, of 6, Underhill Road. By the second week of April he recovered and left for Bombay. While reporting his departure for Bombay, the Hindustan Times, Delhi, in the issue of April 12, 1945, published the following:

"MR. JINNAH MAKING STEADY PROGRESS:

New Delhi, Wednesday:—Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, left this morning for Bombay. While in Delhi, Mr. Jinnah was under the treatment of Dr. Rehman and had made steady progress. The doctor allowed Mr. Jinnah to undertake the journey, but he has been strictly advised to have complete rest and continue the treatment"—API.

Sending a clipping to the Quaid, Dr. Batty took strong exception to the mention of Dr. Rehman's name in the report. His letter dated April 23, 1945, reads as follows:

"Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose a cutting from the "Hindustan Times' of the 12th April, 1945, for your perusal; a report of the similar nature also appeared in the 'Dawn' of the previous date. On enquiry at the offices of API and the Dawn, I was informed, to my surprise, that it was exact to the report that a responsible person at No. 12 Aurangzeb Road (your house) had given them for publication. I am not seeking any self-advertisement, but if no name of a doctor has been mentioned in the report it would not have been quite so belittling to me. I cannot bring myself to believe that you knew anything about report; perhaps somebody does not quite relish

that you were under my treatment. However, since the reports appear to have emanated from your house, I regret I cannot accept your cheque which I am returning. You know, Mr. Jinnah, "man does not live on bread alone" (to quote from the scriptures). Had you called in Dr. Rahman, whoever that worthy may be, it would have saved me the anxiety and worry which a doctor generally feels when treating a case of serious illness.

This may be 'making mountain of a molehill' but then molehill do hurt some people who do not go in for mountaineering.

With kind regards, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

(A. BATTY)".

The Quaid replied on April 24, 1945 from Matheran:

"Dear Dr. Batty,

I am in receipt of your letter of 13th April, and thank you for it. I hope you will excuse the delay as I was not able to attend to my correspondence as regularly as I ought to, because I was giving myself as much rest as possible.

I have read the Press cutting from "Hindustan Times," enclosed in your letter, and I see that you feel that the report mentioning a name of the doctor is "belittling" to you, and you have condemned ex-parte without hearing me or waiting for my explanation, because according to your enquiries, the report that appeared in the Press, did emanate from my house and you have adopted a course of passing the sentence on me by returning the cheque which was sent to you for your professional attendance on me during my recent indisposition.

You know that, so far as my immediate illness was concerned, you declared by about the end of March, that I was completely all right and of your own accord informed me that there was no more need for you to attend to me, and as usual, you sent your bill in the first week of April, which was paid by my cheque on the 8th of April. Dr. Rehman has treated me on several occasions before

and as I found that he was in Delhi, I naturally consulted him generally and he did treat me for a few days before my departure for Bombay. I see you realise yourself in your letter that "this may be making a mountain of a molehill," but you feel hurt by this molehill because of the report that appeared in the 'Hindustan Times'. Let me tell you that after your letter I have seen different papers and I find that they have given different versions including 'Dawn'. You have no experience how these reports get mutilated and are gathered. My office was, no doubt, pressed by the News Agencies, the Press and various other quarters wanting some information, and my secretary naturally gave them such information in the ordinary course, as was available to him and as a result of conversation or conversations that might have taken place, the News Agencies made up this paragraph. May I just point out that you describe my house as No. 12 Aurangzeb Road, which is in fact No. 10, and you have been so often to my house, which is an instance how, without questioning the bonafides of any one, mistakes are made. But let me inform you that there is nobody that I know of, who is guilty of, as you say, "not quite relishing" that I was under your treatment.

As far as I am concerned, you know you have been my doctor for a long time in Delhi, and during my recent illness your name came uppermost in my mind and you were asked to attend to me. Let me tell you that I am very grateful to you for all that you did for me, not merely as a professional man which of course is your duty, and the keen and special interest that you took in looking after me. I am very glad to inform you that I am having complete rest and hope very soon to return to my active life.

In these circumstances, I am returning the cheque to you and I hope you will accept it and forget the incident. I can see that the report is unhappily worded and might be interpreted as you suggest. But you know, or ought to know what the Press and News Agencies are.

Hoping you are well. With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

(M. A. JINNAH.)

Morning News.

QUAID'S NATIONAL SPIRIT

By M. A. Harris

During the days of prepartition India, Rajasthan was a conglomeration of native states. Of these, Udaipur-Mewar was well known for its enlightened administration and progressive ideas of its rulers who were the direct descendants of Maharana Pratab of historical fame.

Udaipur-Mewar was also the seat of a renowned temple at Rishabdev belonging to the Jain Sect of the Hindu Community. The State became the focal point of legal luminaries when a ghastly murder was committed in the Jain Temple. A faction led by a multi-millionaire industrialist of Indore, Sir Hukam Chand, engaged Sir Chimanlal Setalvad while the rival group solicited the services of Mr. M.A. Jinnah, the leading Barrister of India. The court was presided over by an English judge.

The impact of the Quaid-i-Azam's professional visit to the native State was felt all over Udaipur-Mewar. Apart from the aura of his legal fame, the halo of his personal charm attracted the attention of His Highness Maharana Sir Bhopal Singhji, the ruling Prince, who invited the Quaid to his palace. As the Quaid drove to the court room of the Maharana's Palace, the attendants on duty politely requested him to put off the shoes before being ushered into the audience of His Highness. That was the royal order for all and sundry and the custom died hard at the seat of pelf and power.

Taken aback but yet alive to very many such ugly situations in his career, the Quaid instantly queried, "What do the Englishmen do when they go to see His Highness." The staff replied that they were allowed to walk in with shoes on. With his characteristic gesture, the quick-witted Quaid retorted, "I am not inferior to any Englishman" and drove back without seeing the Prince. The reaction of the Prince can hardly be gauged.

Pakistan Times

'THE CUP OF TEA IS OVER'

POTHAN JOSEPH WHO DIED UNSUNG, UNHEARD

By Aman

New Delhi: "He deserved at least a Padma Vibhushan in his life time", said Chelapathi Rau of "National Herald" on the death of Pothan Joseph. Our Government that bestows titles liberally without any rhyme or reason on a sportsman here and a film actor there could not spare even a Padma Shri for "a doyen among our journalists" as described by President Giri.

If wit and wisdom, thought and effect, sarcasm and romanticism have found full play with sometimes interesting, sometimes devastating effect in the writings of an Indian journalist, it is in those of Pothan Joseph—the man Mohammed Ali Jinnah chose (or shall I say picked) to edit DAWN, the mouthpiece of the then All-India Muslim League.

CONSCIENCE MORTGAGED

The first time I met him, I was only twelve years old—dreaming of becoming journalist, knowing nothing of the struggle inherent in that career. The main instrument for this meeting was Bhaskar Rao, another good journalist and later Editor of "Bharat", founded by Sardar Patel. The place of our meeting was the editorial chambers of Syed Abdullah Brelvi, Editor of "Bombay Chronicle", and a Congress leader in his own right. In a lighter vein, Brelvi pulled up Joseph, who was then the Editor of "Dawn". "Joseph has mortgaged his conscience", joked Brelvi.

"I have only mortgaged. You have sold it", retorted Joseph. Then his eyes fell on me. "Who's this boy." he asked Bhaskar Rao.

"He is a nephew of my friend working in the Bombay Port Trust. He is named after King Amanullah and he is dreaming of

becoming a journalist", replied Bhaskar Rao.

"Why do you want to corrupt him, Bhaskar? Ask him to dream like a Prince". Then looking towards me he continued, "Don't be a scribe my boy, between me and Brelvi it is a matter of mortgaging and selling hearts. In your time it may be even transplanting."

Today when he is no more his words still ring in my ears. Beginning his career as a lawyer, he took to journalism as an Asstt. Editor in "Bombay Chronicle"—the institution that has produced some finest journalists like D. F. Karaka. The papers that Joseph has edited are legion now—"Voice of India", "The Mail", "The Hindustan Times", "The Indian Express", "Dawn", "Deccan Herald", "Swarajya" etc.

It was in "Dawn" that his latent talents found full play. The sharpness of his pen lent full support to the policy of Mohammed Ali Jinnah and became the envy of his adversaries. His trenchant criticism of the British and the Congress went parallel to the speeches and statements of Jinnah. Under him "Dawn" registered phenomenal success and Altaf Hussain who later became its Editor had his grooming.

The last time I met him was at his "Deccan Herald" office at Bangalore. During the course of our talk, I asked him, "Why did Jinnah choose you to edit 'Dawn'."

"For the simple reason that both of us are incorruptible". When I looked at him a little surprised, he went on, "yes. I mean that. You know India has not produced so honest and incorruptible a politician as Jinnah. Ask Pandit Kunzru. Ask C. R. Ask C. P. (Sir Ramaswamy Iyyer). They all will endorse what I say."

COLD-BLOODED LOGICIAN

"Did you ever disagree with him while in 'Dawn'?", I asked.

"Many a time we have disagreed....only to agree. He was' as he himself puts it, a cold-blooded logician. If he could argue suc-

cessfully with legal luminaries like Sapru and Jayakar what was I? Even Stafford Crips had to bow down before him."

"Why didn't you go to Pakistan", I asked.

"Good. This is a million dollar question. Nobody has dared to ask me this. You know I am not only a journalist but a thinker also. If I had wanted, I could have become the Information Minister of Pakistan, when some Jogendar Nath Mandal could become the Labour Minister. But I knew even then, that Pakistan had only a Jinnah for its creation. It had not and could not, I can't say cannot, produce a Jinnah for its sustenance. If a man like Liaquat Ali Khan could be murdered, what was I? They would have butchered me."

"Did Jinnah really want Pakistan, ?' I asked another question.

"What do you mean by really. Just take it this way. If your elder brother at home teases you night and day, what course would you take. You would get out of that house. But still in your heart of hearts you would like to stay. Jinnah's feelings were like that. He didn't really want it. He was forced to opt for it. We asked him to get out and he got out."

"Who is the villain of the piece?"

"In this drama of Partition there is no hero. It is villians and villains. If the blood that was shed is an indication."

"How is that you have not caught Nehru's eyes?"

"The pity with him is that in the company of scientists he thinks he is a super scientist; in the company of artists, a super artist; in the company of writers, a super writer. At least as a writer I didn't think that he was superior to me. May be, that is why he didn't like me."

OVER A CUP OF TEA—his characteristic column—that became a legend in Indian journalism for original ideas, inimitable

style with sprinklings of wit, humour, sarcasm, and venom is over now.

Courtesy : "Radiance", Delhi.

Daily News

Comments

MR. POTHAN JOSEPH

The news of the sad demise of one of the first editors of "The Dawn", of prepartition India has stirred many old memories. While Mr. Hasan Ahmad was the first editor of "The Dawn" weekly, Mr. Pothan Joseph was appointed its first editor when the journal became a daily. Many of us are now put in mind of the vitriolic yet convincing writings of Mr. Pothan Joseph who inspired us in our younger days as deeply as another well-known Columnist, M.R.T.

Pothan Joseph wielded a facile pen and his invectives and barbed shafts against anti-Muslim organisations and nationalist busy-bodies carried a refreshing candour unsurpassed in contemporary journalism. He was suave without being silky . His rapier-like thrust was irresistible. Undoubtedly, he stalked the arena like a colossus. The following excerpt from "The Dawn," dated August 2, 1942 will illustrate my point:

"Mr. Munshi is excited about the pre-historic impetus of 6000 years ago while those who are not caste-Hindus, a few good millions, marvel at all this antiquarian commotion especially when they couple 'Indian Culture (4000 B.C.) with 'Democracy', a combination of immiscibles like sand and sugar. As Dr. Moonje and Mr. Munshi stretch themselves far into the millenial shades of history, they are losing sight of recent decades and modern centuries which should give us the basis of a common way of thinking, or else they are indulging in language which their non-Hindu friends cannot even understand. Political Zionism reared upon the buried past disastrously affects reason and Dr. Moonje has merely played on the chord of sentiment in telling C.R. of his Brahminical obligations. But eventually it must all go, like the old-school-tie which is only a more expensive emblem of clannishness and privilege."

M. A. Harris

MOHAMMED ALI JINNAH

This Moslem tiger wants to eat the Hindu cow.

Time's Issue of April 22, 1946

INDIA

Long Shadow

India's festering sun beat down impartially on New and Old Delhi—on the precisely geometric, grandly drab preserves of the British Raj, on the noisy, squalid, sprawling native town. A sweat-soaked British wallah might change his shirt four times before settling down to an evening burra peg of bad Australian whisky in the garden of the Cecil Hotel. Even the calloused, naked feet of shirtless Indians burned as they paddle along the teeming Chandni Chauk. In the brassy glare, the flowering trees near the Viceroy's residence seemed to bear sparks rather than blossoms. The rind of an orange would shrivel the moment it was peeled from its fruit. Here and there an exhausted cow rested, sacred and undisturbed, in the traffic lanes of the boulevards.

Delhi in the spring heat of 1946 was not relaxed; it was taut with waiting, gravid with conflict and suspense. Two Socialist lawyers and a former Baptist lay preacher from Britain had sat for 25 days in the southeast wing of the viceregal palace, preparing to liquidate the richest portion of empire that history had ever seen—to end the British Raj, the grand and guilty edifice built and maintained by William Hawkins and Robert Clive, Warren Hastings and the Marquess Wellesley, the brawling editor James Silk Buckingham and the canny merchant Lord Inchacape, and by the great Viceroys, austere Curzon and gentle Halifax. The Raj was finished: scracely a voice in Britain spoke against independence; scarcely an Indian wanted the British to stay; scarcely a leader in India questioned the sincerity of Britain's intention to get out. The only questions were "when?" and "how?"

Last week the three members of the British Cabinet Mission

strove to force Indians to take the ultimate step—agreement on the constitution of an independent state. Much like a judge locking a hung jury in an uncomfortable room, Ministers Lord Pethick-Lawrence, A. V. Alexander and Sir Stafford Cripps, prepared for a long Easter weekend in Kashmir's cool mountains with a message that when they returned "they hoped to find sufficient elements of agreement on which a settlement will be based".

Inside the cream stucco Imperial Hotel, beneath the propeller-blade, fans, zealots and schemers argued, intrigued and speculated in more tongues than the Ganges has mouths. When they repeated to each other (as they often did) that now at last Britain's colonial policy had lumbered to the point where Whitehall really wanted to free India, hope revived. When they reflected (as they often did) that civil war had never been closer, despair reached its depth. The issue seemed to turn on one man—Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Last week all India watched Jinnah's words and actions.

Man with an Angora Cap: While the Cabinet Mission still talked with India's leaders a meeting was held in the courtyard of Anglo-Arabic College across Delhi from the Viceroy's Palace. Green and white banners flaunted unacademic slogans: "Pakistan or die", We are determined to fight. "The speeches were equally inflammatory. Said Abdul Qaiyum Khan from the North-West Frontier Province: "I hope the Moslem nation will strike swiftly before (a Hindu) government can be set up in this country...... The Moslems will have no alternative but to take out their swords." Said Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan of the Punjab (which furnishes more than half the troops of the Indian regular army): "The Punjabi Moslems will fight for you unto the death."

One of the wealthiest of Moslem leaders, Sir Firoz Khan Noon, a Punjab landowner, did not hesitate to wave the Red flag; "If neither (the Hindus nor the British) give (Pakistan) to us....if our own course is to fight, and if in that fight we go down, the only course for Moslems is to look to Russia....I will be the first to lose every rupee I have in order that we may be free in this country." Five thousand Moslems cheered. Even the women in the purdah enclosure

to the left of the platform could be heard applauding behind their screen.

The presiding officer was neither shocked nor carried away by the incendiary speeches. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, clad in black angora cap, a long black sherwani (tunic), and tight-fitting churidar on his wire-thin legs, smiled his ice-cold smile. He was at the peak of his power. He was the man who might say whether one-fifth of the world's people would be free. His 5 ft. 11 in. and 119 lbs. stood between India and independence.

Man with a Monocle: After the meeting, Jinnah got out of his political costume as soon as possible, relaxed in his comfortable New Delhi home (he has a more palatial one on Bombay's Malabar Hill). He changed quickly to a tropical grey suit, blue and black striped tie, black and white sport shoes. Later, as he read a speech, Jinnah screwed a monocle into his right eye. He wears Moslem dress only because his enemies sneer that Jinnah, head of India's Moslem League, is lax in his religious observances. ("Jinnah does not have a beard; Jinnah does not go to the Mosque; Jinnah drinks whisky!") With his perfect English, which he speaks better than his native Gujrati, his slick grey hair and graceful, precise gestures, he might be a European diplomat of the old school. How such a man at a fateful moment in history came to be the spokesman for millions of Moslem peasants, small shopkeepers and soldiers, is a story of love of country and lust for power, a story that twists and turns like a bullock track in the hills.

Jinnah was born on Christmas Day, 1876, the eldest son of Jinnah Poonja, a wealthy Karachi dealer in gum arabic and hides. The boy grew up in an atmosphere of wealth among a doting family. After going to school in Bombay and Karachi, young Jinnah, "a tall thin boy in a funny long yellow coat," as poetess Sarojini Naidu described him, went to England. At the age of 16 he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn to read law. Soon after Jinnah returned to India, his father lost his money. Three hard, jobless years followed, until briefs and money started coming.

Man of Unity: In 1910 Bombay Moslems elected him to the Supreme Legislative Council. Jinnah rose steadily in the councils of the nationalists and in the courtrooms of India. He revisited England and there, in 1913, enrolled in the Moslem League. "Typical of his sense of honour", wrote his rhapsodic biographer Naidu,* "he partook of it something like a sacrament... made his two sponsors take a solemn preliminary covenant that loyalty to the Moslem League....would in no way and at no time imply even the shadow of disloyalty to the larger national cause to which his life was dedicated."

During World War I Jinnah was a conspicuous worker for Moslem-Hindu unity, persuaded the Congress Party and Moslem League to hold joint sessions, used as his slogan "a free and federated India". In 1917 he could still attack the idea which later bacame his obsession. "This (fear of Hindu domination) is a bogey", he told League members, "....to scare you away from the co operation with the Hindus which is essential for the establishment of self-government."

Man of Discord: The solemn dedication to the "larger nationa cause" began to waver after the war. The shrewd, suave Moslem saw a shrewd, complexly simple Hindu, Mohandas Gandhi, step into the leadership of the nationalist Congress Party. When Gandhi began to turn the party, (once the sounding board for polite talk about independence among a few cautious Indian leaders) into a powerful mass movement, Jinnah drifted out of the fold. Some Hindus think he lost his nationalist ardor when he lost his beautiful Parsi wife (he was 42, she 18 when they were married) after their only child, a daughter, was born. His wife had been a zealous worker for independence.

Since then he has shared his Malabar Hill and New Delhi homes with his sister, Fatima. He lives austerely, has no close friends. He disowned his daughter for marrying a rich Christian.

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*At 67 plump Madame Naidu is suill a member of the Congress Party's Working Committee, is considered India's top most orator. She paints her toenails bright red.

Even Poetess Naidu found little warmth in Jinnah: "Somewhat formal and fastidious of manner. Tall and stately, but thin to the point of emaciation, languid and luxurious of habit, Jinnah's attenuated form is the deceptive sheath of a spirit of exceptional vitality and endurance."

Man of Threats: That vitality and cold intelligence were turned more and more to the Moslem cause during the late '30s. After the sweeping Congress party victories in the 1936-37 provincial elections, Moslems charged that Hindus were trying to monopolize the government.

At a crucial meeting in March 1940 Jinnah first publicly plumped for Pakistan.* A hundred thousand followers thronged into the shade of a huge pandal (big tent) in Lahore, where the League was meeting, overflowed into the scorching heat outside, heard Jinnah proclaim over the loudspeaker: "....The only course open to us all is to allow the major nations (of India) to separate to their homelands." He warned that any democratic government in a unified India which gave Moslems a permanent minority "must lead to civil war and the raising of private armies." An enthusiastic woman follower tore off her veil, came from behind the purdah screen, mounted the speakers' platform. But Moslem revolutionary ardor was not ready to break with tradition; she was quietly escorted back to purdah by a uniformed guard.

When Gandhi led Congress into civil disobedience after the failure of the Cripps mission in 1942, Jinnah ordered his Moslems

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*Pakistan, a dream of Moslem students before it became a political issue, was originally concocted from P for Punjab, A for Afghans of the North-West Frontier, K for Kashmir, S for Sind, Tan from Baluchistan, "Pak" also means "pure" in Urdu, with "stan" means "Land of the Pure". Last week the League convention defined it to embrace Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan , Nort-West Frontier Province (all in north-western India), Assam and most of Bengal (in the northeast). Jinnah has even advocated a thousand-mile corridor across Hindustan to connect the two parts.

to take no part, promised a "state of benevolent neutrality" that would not hamper the British in fighting the Japanese. He boasted that if his followers joined Gandhi's pacifist program, the British would have 500 times more trouble "because we have 500 times more guts than the Hindus." He recalled past glories of the Mogul Emperor Baber ("The Tiger") and other Moslem warriors: "The Moslems have been slaves for only 200 years but the Hindus have been slaves for a thousand"

A historic meeting with Gandhi on Malabar Hill in 1944 ended in an impasse. Even Gandhi's healer, Dinshaw Mehta, who massaged Jinnah for two hours daily during the meetings, could not turn out the wrinkles of obstinacy that made the skinny Moslem uncompromisingly demand Pakistan, made the skinny Hindu as uncompromisingly demand a unified India, with the Pakistan issue postponed until after independence.

Man of Pomp: Today Jinnah revels in his one-man show. Nobody in all his Moslem League can be called a No. 2 man, or even No. 8. He delights in the princely processions staged by his followers when he tours the Moslem cities of northern India. His buglers herald his arrival at railway stations. Bands play God Save the King because "that's the only tune they know." Victory arches go up, rose petals flutter down from the rooftops, richly bedizened elephants, camel and mounted guards of honor accompany the Holly-wood float which Jinnah rides. Today Jinnah, and not the hated Hindu Gandhi, is prima donna on India's stage.

The gulf between Moslem and Hindu had always been real, but Jinnah dug it deeper. Last Christmas Day, Jinnah's 69th birthday, he summed up his demand for two nations. "I want to eat the cow the Hindu worships.....The Moslems has nothing in common with the Hindu except his slavery of the British."

Economic differences aggravate the irritation. Enterprising Hindus and Parsis almost monopolize banking, insurance, big business. Moslems, slower to welcome Western education, complain bitterly that Hindu factory owners rarely employ a Moslem clerk

or foreman even when most workmen are Moslem. Moslems have a real fear that, in a unified India, Hindus would freeze them out of important posts in government and industry.

The British, in the years when they still hoped to hold India, gave the religious difference official standing by decreeing, in 1909, that Hindus and Moslems should vote separately. H.N. Brailsford, a sympathetic British student of India, has said: "We labelled them Hindus and Moslems till they forgot they were men." The British policy of "divide and rule" has been turned by Jinnah to the Pakistan demand "divide and quit".

The poorest State: The British Raj had given India a unified defense and a unified region of internal free trade. Jinnah would destroy both. His Pakistan, in northwest and northeast India, would be an agricultural state, poor in resources and industry, unless, improbably, the Hindus agreed to turn Hindu Calcutta over to Pakistan. Between mighty Russia to the north and the main body of India to the south, Pakistan would dangle like two withered arms. Only half the population of the area claimed for Pakistan is Moslem. None could claim that to split India in twain would solve the minority problem—in Hindustan there would still be islands of Moslems, in Pakistan large Hindu minorities. Jinnah has not concealed that behind Pakistan lies the ancient Asiatic practice of taking hostages; a Hindu minority in Pakistan could, by reprisals, be made to answer for persecution of Moslems in Hindu India.

To warnings that a separate Pakistan would be poor and backward, Jinnah answers: "Why are the Hindus worrying so much about us? Let us stew in our own juice if we are willing...... (The Hindus) would be getting rid of the poorest parts of India, so they ought to be glad. The economy would take care of itself in time."

The Plainest Answer: The Congress Party's position on Pakistan was just as firm as Jinnah's. The party's official head, goateed Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a Moslem who looks like a caricature of a Kentucky colonel, paced up and down in his Delhi quarters last week, smoking a big cigar. "Eighty percent of the Indian people

live in villages where Hindus and Moslems get along well together—the only trouble is among the twenty percent living in the cities. This is basically an economic conflict, not religious." Jawaharlal Nehru made the plainest answer: "Nothing on earth, including the United Nations, is going to bring about the Pakistan of Jinnah's conception."

The Congress Party might compromise on some plan for a limited Pakistan within a federated India. Jinnah might change his mind—as he has so often before. But if neither gave way, the British Cabinet Mission would probably impose a constitution on India despite the threats of civil war. When a British official in Delhi last week said, "This is the most important British diplomatic effort of the century," he has in mind the danger that a failure to settle the Indian problem would keep the whole East in turmoil and disturb international relations throughout the world by presenting Russia with an opportunity to increase her influence among Asia's people.

Even if settlement of the constitutional issue resulted in an independent, unified India, the future was none too bright. Famine was tightening its grip on the sub-continent. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar warned of "ten million dead on the streets of India" unless he could buy four million tons of grain this year in the U.S.* Independence alone would not answer the food problem, which would recur until India had more irrigation, more fertilizer, better agricultural methods and more industry. Many Indian leaders looked to the U.S for machinery and technical advice. The most pratical immediate step would be a U.S. loan to Britain, which would permit London to pay off much of its wartime debt to India, and to give India the dollars she needs for imports from the U.S.

Where Akbar Failed: If India, with its diverse tongues, its anachronistic princes and princelings, its millennium of dependence on the rule of outsiders, could become a nation in the Western sense, the achievement would be one of the greatest triumphs of history.

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*In 1943's Bengal famine 1.5 million starved.

In E.M. Forster's "A Passage to India", a Moslem character, Dr. Aziz, recalled that the great Mogul Emperor Akbar had worked with tolerance and wisdom to unite India, had even attempted to devise a new unifying faith. But, says Dr. Aziz: "Nothing embraces the whole of India—nothing, nothing, and that was Akbar's mistake."

Thus people without a common denominator are at the same time the most bound and the most free in the world. They are bound by poverty, by caste, by religious practices that often descend to the crassest animism, by political ignorance and by disease. Yet they have been free enough to produce great contemporary leaders and thinkers. Nobody, not even the British Raj in the days of its strength, has regimented the Indians, who wear a thousand local costumes, speak 225 languages, and follow highly individual patterns of behaviour. An Indian is free to sleep on the sidewalks of Madras when he feels tired, or to declare himself a saint and sit waiting for disciples by the burning ghats of Benares; or to send out a seven-year-old child with a dead baby dangling from its hand to beg in Calcutta's Howrah railroad station.

No one who looked at India's anarchic scene last week could believe that Jinnah had created all the obstacles to India's freedom, but in the present crisis he had come to symbolize them. The Indian sun cast Jinnah's long thin shadow not only across the negotiations in Delhi but over India's future.

VERDICT ON INDIA

By

BEVERLEY NICHOLS

First published December, 1944

CHAPTER III

DIALOGUE WITH A GIANT

The most important man in Asia is sixty-seven, tall, thin, and elegant, with a monocle on a grey silk cord, and a stiff white collar

which he wears in the hottest weather. He suggests a gentleman of Spain, a diplomat of the old school; one used to see his like sitting in the window of the St. James's Club, sipping Contrexeville while he read Le Temps, which was propped against a Queen Anne toast rack stacked with toast Melba.

I have called Mr. Jinnah 'the most important man in Asia'. That was to ensure that you kept him spotlit in your mind. Like all superlatives the description is open to argument, but it is not really so far from the truth. India is likely to be the world's greatest problem for some years to come, and Mr. Jinnah is in a position of unique strategic importance. He can sway the battle this way or that as he chooses. His 100 million Muslims will march to the left, to the right, to the front, to the rear at his bidding, and at nobody else's....that is the point. It is not the same in the Hindu ranks. If Gandhi goes, there is always Nehru, or Rajagopalachari, or Patel or a dozen others. But if Jinnah goes, who is there.

By this I do not mean that the Muslim League would disintegrate—it is far too homogeneous and virile a body—but that its actions would be incalculable. It might run completely off the rails, and charge through India with fire and slaughter; it might start another war.

As long as Jinnah is there, nothing like this will happen.

And so, you see, a great deal hangs on the grey silk cord of that monocle.

I first met him on December 18th, 1943. He said he could give me half an hour, and gave me nearly three. In that space of time he surveyed a very wide field; the gist of his remarks, however, the living essence, is in the following dialogue, which he has been good enough to edit.

Here we are then, sitting in a quite room looking out on to a garden, discussing one of the most important problems in the world, with the man most competent to solve it.

II

SELF: The most common accusation of your critics is that you have not defined Pakistan with sufficient precision—that there are many details of defence, economics, minorities, etc., which you have left deliberately vague. Do you think that is a just criticism?

JINNAH: It is neither just nor intelligent, particularly if it is made by an Englishman with any knowledge of his own history. When Ireland was separated from Britain, the document embodying the terms of separation was approximately ten lines. Ten lines of print to settle a dispute of incredible complexity which has poisoned British politics for centuries. All the details were left to the Future—and the Future is often an admirable arbitrator. Well, I've already given the world a good deal more than ten lines to indicate the principles and practice of Pakistan, but it is beyond the power of any man to provide, in advance, a blue-print in which every detail is settled. Besides, Indian history proves that such a blue-print is totally unnecessary. Where was the blue-print when the question of Burmah's separation was decided at the Round Table Conference? Where was the blue-print when Sind was separated from Bombay? The answer, of course, is 'nowhere'. It didn't exist. It didn't need to exist. The vital point was that the principle of separation was accepted; the rest followed automatically.

SELF: How would you describe the 'vital principles' of Pakistan?

JINNAH: In five words. The Muslims are a Nation. If you grant that, and if you are an honest man, you must grant the principle of Pakistan. You would have to grant it even if the obstacles were a hundred times more formidable than they actually are. Of course, if you do not grant it, then.... He shrugged his shoulders and smiled. Then, there is an end of the matter.

SELF: When you say the Muslims are a Nation, are you thinking in terms of religion?

JINNAH: Partly, but by no means exclusively. You must

remember that Islam is not merely a religious doctrine but a realistic and practical Code of Conduct. I am thinking in terms of life, of everything important in life. I am thinking in terms of our history, our heroes, our art, our architecture, our music, our laws, our jurisprudence....

SELF: Please, I would like to write these things down.

JINNAH : (after a pause) In all these things our outlook is not only fundamentally different but often radically antagonistic to the Hindus. We are different beings. There is nothing in life which links us together. Our names, our clothes, our foods—they are all different; our economic life, our educational ideas, our treatment of women, our attitude to animals...We challenge each other at every point of the compass. Take one example, the eternal question of the cow. We eat the cow, the Hindus worship it. A lot of Englishmen imagine that this 'worship' is merely a picturesque convention, an historical survival. It is nothing of the sort. Only a few days ago, in this very city, the cow question became a matter for the police. The Hindus were thrown into the greatest agitation because cows were being killed in public. But the cow question is only one of a thousand. (A pause) What have you written down?

SELF: I have only written 'The Muslims are a Nation'.

JINNAH : And do you believe it?

SELF : I do.

JINNAH (with a smile) What other questions have you got there ?

SELF : The first is economic. Are the Muslims likely to be richer or poorer under Pakistan? And would you set up tariffs against the rest of India?

JINNAH : I'll ask you a question for a change. Supposing you were asked which you would prefer....a rich England under Germany or a poor England free, what would your answer be?

SELF: It's hardly necessary to say.

JINNAH : Quite. Well, doesn't that make your question look a little shoddy? This great ideal rises far above mere questions of personal comfort or temporary convenience. The Muslims are a tough people, lean and hardy. If Pakistan means that they will have to be a little tougher they will not complain. But why should it mean that? What conceivable reason is there to suppose that the gift of nationality is going to be an economic liability? A sovereign nation of a hundred million people-even if they are not immediately self-supporting and even if they are industrially backward—is hardly lik ly to be in a worse economic position than if its members are scattered and disorganized, under the dominance of two hundred and fifty million Hindus whose one idea is to exploit them. How any European can get up and say that Pakistan is 'economically impossible' after the Treaty of Versailles, is really beyond my comprehension. The great brains who cut Europe into a ridiculous patchwork of conflicting and artificial boundaries are hardly the people to talk economics to us, particularly as our problem happens to be far simpler.

SELF: And does that also apply to defence?

JINNAH: Of course it applies to defence. Once again I will ask you a question. How is Afghanistan defended? Well? The answer is not very complicated. By the Afghans. Just that. We are a brave and united people who are prepared to work and, if necessary, fight. So how does the question of defence present any peculiar difficulties? In what way do we differ from other nations. From Iran, for example! Obviously, there will have to be a transition period. We are not asking the British to quit India overnight. The British have helped to make this gigantic muddle, and they must stay and help to clear it up. But before they can do that, they will have to do a lot of hard thinking. And that reminds me—I have something I would like to show you.

He excused himself and left the room. I lit a cigarette and waited. And suddenly I realized that something very remarkable was happen-

ing, or rather was not happening. I was not losing my temper. Jinnah had been almost brutally critical of British policy (though I have not quoted his remarks in the above dialogue), but his criticism had been clear and creative. It was not merely a medley of wild words, a hotch-potch of hatred and hallucination, in the Hindu manner. It was more like a diagnosis. The difference between Jinnah and the typical Hindu politician was the difference between a surgeon and a witch doctor. Moreover, he was a surgeon you could trust, even though his verdict was harsh.

"The British must realize," he had said to me before we tackled the problem of Pakistan, "that they have not a friend in the country. Not a friend."

A Hindu politician would have said that at the top of his voice, with delight. Jinnah said it quietly, with regret, Here he was again. In his hand he carried a book.

JINNAH : You will remember I said, a moment ago, that the British would have to do a lot of hard thinking. It's a habit they don't find very congenial; they prefer to be comfortable, to wait and see, trusting that everything will come right in the end. However, when they do take the trouble to think, they think as clearly and creatively as any people in the world. And one of their best thinkers—at least on the Indian problem—was old John Bright. Have you ever read any of his speeches?

SELF: Not since I left school.

JINNAH: Well, take a look at this. I found it by chance the other day.

He handed me the book. It was a faded old volume, The Speeches of John Bright, and the date of the page at which it was opened was June 4th, 1858. This is what the greatest orator in the House of Commons said on that occasion:

'How long does England propose to govern India. Nobody

can answer that question. But be it 50 or 100 or 500 years, does any man with the smallest glimmering of common sense believe that so great a country, with its 20 different nationalities and its 20 different languages, can ever be bound up and consolidated into one compact and enduring empire ? I believe such a thing to be utterly impossible.'

JINNAH: What Bright said then is true today. . . In fact, it's more true—though, of course, the emphasis is not so much on the 20 nationalities as on the 2. . . . the Muslim and the Hindu. And why it is more true? Why hans't time brought us together? Because the Muslims are awake . . . . because they've learnt, through bitter experience, the sort of treatment they may expect from the Hindus in a 'United India'. A 'United India' means a Hindu dominated India. It means that and nothing else. Any other meaning you attempt to impose on it is mythical. 'India' is a British creation. . . it is merely a single administrative unit governed by a bureaucracy under the sanction of the sword. That is all. It is a paper creation, it has no basis in flesh and blood.

SELF: The ironical thing is that your critics say that Pakistan itself is a British creation—that it is an example of our genius for applying the principle of 'divide and rule.'

JINNAH (with some heat): The man who makes such a suggestion must have a very poor opinion of British intelligence, apart from his opinion of my own integrity. The one thing which keeps the British in India is the false idea of United India, as preached by Gandhi. A United India, I repeat, is a British creation—a myth, and a very dangerous myth, which will cause endless strife. As long as that strife exists, the British have an excuse for remaining. For once in a way, 'divide and rule' does not apply.

SELF: What you want is 'divide and quit'.

JINNAH: You have put it very neatly.

SELF: You realize that all this will come as something of a

shock to the British electorate.

JINNAH: Truth is often shocking. But why this truth in particular?

SELF: Because the average, decent, liberal-minded voter, who wishes Britain to fulfil her pledges, and grant independence to India, has heard nothing but the Congress point of view. The Muslims have hardly a single spokesman in the West.

JINNAH (bitterly): I am well aware of that. The Hindus have organized a powerful Press and Congress Mahasabha are backed up by Hindu capitalists and industrialists with finance which we have not got.

SELF: As a result they believe that Congress is 'India', and since Congress never tires of repeating that India is one and indivisible, they imagine that any attempt to divide it is illiberal, reactionary, and generally sinister. They seriously do believe this. I know that it is muddle-headed, but then a democracy such as ours, which has to make up its mind on an incredible number of complicated issues usually is muddle-headed. What they have to learn is that the only liberal course, the only generous course, the only course compatible with a sincere intention is to quit India and hand over the reins of government...

JINNAH: And the only safe course, you might add, is...

SELF: }
JINNAH } Pakistan!

III

The essence of Pakistan—at least of its spirit—is found in the foregoing dialogue. To give a complete exposition of the details of the plan, in a book of this size, would be quite impossible. It would need a sheaf of maps and pages of statistics, and it would

carry us far afield, over the borders of India, and involve us in a great deal of unprofitable speculation.

It is fairly certain, however, that the reader who takes the trouble to go really deeply into the matter, with a mind unwarped by prejudice, will come to the conclusion that Pakistan offers no insuperable difficulties, economic, ethnographic, political or strategic, and is likely, indeed, to prove a good deal easier of attainment than a large number of similar problems which the world has successfully resolved in the past fifty years. It is, of course, a major surgical operation but unfortunately there are occasions in the lives of nations, as of individuals, when major surgical operations are not only desirable but vitally necessary. And this is one of those occasions. The constant friction between the Hindu and Muslim nations has produced something which strongly resembles a cancer in the body politics. There is only one remedy for a cancer, in its advanced stages, and that is the knife. Gandhi's faith-cures, British soothing syrup, the igenious nostrums which are proffered by eager hands throughout the world—all these are useless. They only aggravate the patient's condition and make his ultimate cure more difficult. To the knife it will have to come in the end, and surely one knife, used swiftly and with precision, is better than a million knives, hacking in blind anarchy in the dark.

What is strange, in the whole Pakistan controversy, is not the support which it is slowly gaining among all realistic men but the opposition which it still evokes from sincere well-wishers of India. This is, of course, due to the strength and persistence of Congress propaganda, backed by Hindu big business. The Hindus have almost a monopoly of propaganda. By subtle and persistent suggestion they have managed to persuade the world that they are 'India', and that any attempt to divide 'India' is a wicked 'plot on the part of the British, acting on the well-established principle of divide and rule.'

Most liberals of the West have fallen for this propaganda, hook, line, and sinker. Consequently we have the extraordinary spectacle of 'advanced' British politicians rising to their feet in the House of Commons, and solemnly and sincerely pleading the cause of Indian

'Unity' in the joint cause of Indian independence, sublimely ignorant of the fact that their insistence on this so-called 'unity' is the one and only thing that keeps the British in the saddle.

Unite and Rule.

Divide and Quit.

Those words should be prominent on the desks of all those who offer their opinions on India and her problems.

And even more remarkable aspect of the success of Congress propaganda is that it has been accepted by vast bodies of men and women who really *are* genuinely disturbed by the grievances of oppressed minorities in any other part of the world but India. They will call urgent committee meetings to discuss a fancied slight to the Slovaks, they drive themselves nearly crazy worrying over the Hungarians in Rumania or the Austrians in Northern Italy, but they remain completely apathetic to the wrongs of 100 million Muslims, whose claims to nationality and independence are far more ancient and far more urgent. If these people were not so obviously sincere, they might well be accused of perfidious Albinism on a scale almost unparalleled in history.

I wish that there were space to speculate on the probable results to the world of the adoption, by the British Government, of the policy of 'Divide and Quit'. I myself believe that it would be salutary not only for India, but for Britiain and all mankind. It would be a natural step forward in the March of Time. It would cleanse the world's bosom of much perilous stuff. And if it were done quickly, cleanly, and without compromise, it might reap for Britain golden rewards, not only in the things of commerce but in the things of the spirit, by reminding us of our kinship with the great Muslim world, with which, if we would only admit it, we have so profound an affinity.

POSTSCRIPT.

A friend who has read this chapter made the following comment: 'Jinnah, as you have enunciated him, sounds convincing, but to what

extent does he really represent Muslim opinion? Is the Muslim League, in actual fact, identical with Muslim India? If it is, then Pakistan wins; if it is not, and if there is any considerable body of Muslims who oppose the League, your whole arguments fall to the ground'.

This is an important point, and it deserves an answer. It can be given very briefly.

If the Muslim League does not represent Muslim India, one may politely inquire who does. If there is any other organization challenging its right to speak for the Muslim masses, what is it? Where is it hiding itself? And why, if there were even the faintest shadow of opposition to the League in the Muslim ranks, why, oh why is even the Congress unaware of its existence? Why does Congress confine all its complaints, so loudly and bitterly, to the League? Why does Congress proclaim, day in and day out, that it is with the League that they must reach a settlement? Why does Gandhi address all his pleas, his admonitions, and his scoldings to Jinnah, the leader of the League?

The answer, surely, is sufficiently obvious; it is because the League is Muslim India. There are no discordant voices for the simple reason that the League is the complete expression of the Muslim will.

For those who like statistics, the figures are overwhelmingly convincing. With only one exception[1], EVERY SINGLE BYE-ELECTION FOUGHT BY THE MUSLIMS ANYWHERE IN INDIA DURING THE LAST SEVEN YEARS HAS BEEN WON BY LEAGUE CANDIDATES. They were cent per cent pro-Pakistan, their programmes contained not the faintest shadow of the suggestion of compromise or prevarication, and they swept the board, every time, everywhere, in Bengal, in Assam, in the North-West Frontier, in Sind, in all the provinces, in fact, which Pakistan will eventually absorb. In the Central Legislature itself, out of 30 Muslim seats, 28 are held by vehement Leaguers.

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[1] A curious case in the United Provinces, where local and personal prejudices confused the issue.

If that is not the expression of the Muslim people's will, it would be legitimate to inquire what was!

What does it all mean?

It means—of course—vested interests. The old bogy which is also, unfortunately, a fact, the sinister fact that is behind so much of the world's malaise.

Not for the first time we will permit India to accuse herself. Here is the verdict of an authoritative spokesman of the Muslim League.

'The real reason why the Hindus are so much opposed to Pakistan is that it strikes at the root of their vested interests, and shatters all their dreams of exploiting the entire sub-continent of India. Their emphasis on India's unity and indivisibility is a political stunt to stifle the national consciousness of Muslims for their full share in the political and economic field.'

No man who is aware of the extent to which Congress is dominated by the big bosses of Hindu business can possibly doubt the truth of this assertion. Naturally, Hindu capital wants to be complete master in its own house. Naturally, it wants to tighten the screw on the teeming masses, particularly the Muslim masses. It would.... and will..fight to the death to retain and extend its economic control over the areas which it is proposed to snatch from its grasp. There is already great wealth in those areas, and more is on the way. Bengal offers golden opportunities for industrialization and would serve as a ready market to the agricultural provinces of the west which, in their turn, are rich in untapped resources—ore, minerals, forests, to say nothing of millions of acres of some of the finest soil in India particularly in the Punjab.

Yes, the vested interest of Hindu capital will struggle against Pakistan to the last gasp. And they will use every artifice of diplomacy and propaganda to make the world ring with protests against the 'Mutilation' of the Indian 'motherland'. They will weep, they will

wail, they will bribe, they will threaten—and, to add to the confusion, they will have at their command the services of men of undoubted integrity, whose fervid Hindu nationalism has totally blinded them to the facts. Such a one is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who at a time when the streets were running with blood and the whole country was on the verge of a civil war of appalling dimensions, calmly wirelessed to America that "except for a small handful of persons there is no difference between Hindu and Muslim in race, culture or language." [1] No amount of exclamation marks could do justice to this staggering assertion, nor to the fantastic understatement with which he followd it: 'There is now a demand on the part of some Muslims for partition of India, and it must be remembered that this demand is hardly four years old. Few take it seriously.'

'Some' is an odd expression for 85 millions. 'Few take it seriously,' is a queer way of describing the surging, live-or-die passion of a great nation!

Well, you have been warned. You know what to expect, as the outlines of the dream empire take shape, and are traced more clearly on the world's consciousness. Pakistan will be attacked, lied about, subjected to an unparalleled barrage of misrepresentation. None the less, I believe that it will survive the test. I believe the empire will be born.

And now, let us pay a call on the potential emperor—Mr. M. A. Jinnah. In view of the strategic position which he occupies, it is hardly an exaggeration to describe him as the most important man in Asia.

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[1] Pakistan and Modern India, with a foreword by Quaid-i-Azam (Malabar Hill, Bombay).

[1] New York Times Magazine of July 19th, 1942.

QUAID-I-AZAM

DATE OF HIS BIRTH

By

Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada

I had the privilege of meeting various international personalities. Each had or has a distinction of his own. I was deeply struck by the boldness of Brezhnev, charm of Chou En Lai, dignity of De Gaule, enthusiasm of Eisenhover, frankness of Faisal, hospitality of Hussain, insight of Inonu, keenness of Kosygin, magnetism of Mao Tse Tung, nobility of Naser, sagacity of Shahinshah of Iran, and wit of Wilson. The only person, so far, who created an everlasting impression on me was Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. As the Times commented: "Few statesmen have shaped events to their policy more surely than Mr. Jinnah. He was legend in his lifetime." It is difficult to compress his career in a brief space. I would therefore confine myself to a few aspects of his life.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born at Karachi. A belated and uncorroborated claim has been made that he was born in or around Jerruck—a village about 40 miles from Karachi. But the Quaid-i-Azam acknowledged Karachi as his birth place. In a speech at the Session of Indian Congress held at Karachi in Christmas 1913, he said: "You do not know what pleasure it gives me to stand on this platform in this city of Karachi where I was born, where I have found, after my arrival in this city, personal friends with whom I played in my boyhood." Replying to the Civic address presented by the Karachi Municipal Corporation on the 25th August, 1947, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "Undoubtedly I have great love and regard for this beautiful town not only because of my old association with it, or because it is my birthplace, as you have said, but because it has now become the birthplace of the free, sovereign and independent State of Pakistan." The records also corroborate that Karachi is the place of his birth.

As to date of his birth reference may be made to the registers of

QUAID - I - AZAM
WITH THE OFFICE BEARERS OF BOMBAY DISTRICT MUSLIM LEAGUE (E Ward)



Sitting Miss Fatima Jinnah Mrs. Rafia Sharifuddin Pirzada
Standing 1st raw Mr. Hasan A. Shaikh 5th frcm left



Quaid - i - Azam & Mahatma Gandhi in 1944 —
Quaid's Secretary Mr. Sharifuddin Pirzada is in the centre

the schools attended by Mr. Jinnah. The General Register of Pupils attending the English Department of Sind Madressah-tul-Islam shows that Master Jinnah was admitted to that School on 4th July 1887. In Entry No. 11 other particulars given are: "Name: Mohammad Ali Jinnah; Native Place: Karachi; Birthday: (Not given),; Age : 14 years; Caste: Khoja; Previous instructions: Standard IV Gujrati; Paying or Free: Paying; Standard or class to which admitted: St. I".

After a short period Jinnah left for Bombay and there joined Anjuman-i-Islam School. According to Entry No. 178 of the Register of Sind Madressah he returned to Karachi and was readmitted on 23rd December 1887. Now his birth date was mentioned in the register as 20th October 1875. On 5th January 1891 Jinnah left Sind Madressah, while he was in Standard IV and the reason of withdrawal is shown to be "long absence". The next entry in the Register concerning him is No. 430 dated 9th February 1891 and records: "Name: Mohammad Ali Jinnahbhoy; Native Place: Karachi; Birthday: 20th October 1875; Caste: Khoja; Previous instructions: Standard IV; Paying or Free: Paying; Standard or class to which admitted: IV; Date of Leaving: 30th January 1892; Standard from which left: Standard V; Reason of withdrawal: left for Cutch on marriage". He was married to Emi Bai but she died when he was studying in England.

On 8th May 1892 Jinnah left Sind Madressah and joined Christian Mission School in VI Standard. The entry No. 483 in the register of that School shows his birthday as 20th October 1875. The said entry bears the signature as Mohammed Ali Jinnahbhai.

Some of the authors claim that he matriculated from the Bombay University. This is incorrect. Jinnah did not matriculate from the Bombay University. On the 5th January 1938 Quaid-i-Azam addressed a meeting held under the auspices of the Allahabad University Union which was presided over by Mr. G. C. Patnak. The press report thereof appearing in the Pioneer of 7th January 1938 states: "Mr. Jinnah said accuracy was very important, and added, when the Chairman of the meeting spoke he was really surprised that he

gave him (Mr. Jinnah) the honour that he belonged to Bombay University. Mr. Jinnah observed that showed that he was one of the products of Bombay University. But unfortunately it was not a fact. Mr. Jinnah said that he belonged to no university, and had struggled without a university or a college." This confirms that Mr. Jinnah did not matriculate from the Bombay University. The enquiries now reveal that Mr. Jinnah left Christian Mission School on 31st October 1892 when he was only in 6th standard. In or about January 1893 Mr. Jinnah sailed for England. In London he passed the usual "Preliminary examination" to enable him to prosecute his law studies. The register of the council of the Lincoln's Inn gives the following particulars:

On 25th April 1893 the petition of Mohamed Ali Jinnahbhai to be excused the Latin portion of the Preliminary Examination was granted. He was admitted to the Society on the 25th June 1893, and at that time gave his age as being 19 years. At the time of admission in the Lincoln's Inn students were not required to give their date of birth. On 14th April 1896 the petition of Mohammed Ali Jinnahbhai, a student of the Society to have his name altered on the Books of the Society to Mohamed Ali Jinnah was granted. He was called to the Bar on the 25th day of April 1896.

It will be noticed that while no date of birth is found in the records of the Lincoln's Inn, in the Register of the Sind Madressah and the Christian Mission School Mr. Jinnah's date of birth is entered as 20th October 1875. On the basis of these entries, Mr. M. A. Harris in an article entitled 'Quaid-i-Azam's birthday' published in the Civil & Military Gazette of 5th September 1950, claimed Jinnah's date of birth as 20th October 1875. On or about 24th September 1950 Mr. M. A. Harris published a pamphlet—entitled "Quaid-i-Azam—What is his date of Birth?" In the foreword, Professor A.B.A. Haleem, then Vice-Chancellor, University of Sind, stated: "Mr. M.A. Harris has rendered a service to the country by throwing interesting light on the question of the date of his birth and his early education. Parents in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent are often careless about entering the correct birthday of their children in the school register, and the evidence cited by Mr. Harris cannot be held to prove conclu-

sively that the Quaid-i-Azam was born on October 20, 1875. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, however, it would not be wise to challenge his thesis. Apart from the merits of the controversy the author deserves our thanks for focusing public attention on the necessity of carrying on investigation into different aspects and phases of the life of the Quaid-i-Azam". In the preface the author expressed his thanks, among others, to Khatoon-i-Pakistan Miss Fatima Jinnah who graciously consented to spare some time to go through the article.

On the basis of the register of the Sind Madressah Mr. Harris concluded that in view of this most reliable and only authentic evidence available the Government of Pakistan had yet to revise their decision and declare 20th October as Quaid-i-Azam's birthday.

The date of Mr. Jinnah's birth was in issue in a civil suit filed by Nur Mohammad Lallan against Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gangji Walji, in the Court of District of Karachi on 25th January 1896. The plaintiff sought to recover a sum of Rs. 6,790- being principal and interest thereon at 12% on two hundies for Rs. 2,500 each executed by the defendants in his favour on the 27th November and 2nd December 1892 respectively. Mr. Gangji Walji made no defence. Mr. Jinnah in written statement stated that "he was a minor in 1892 when the Hundis were executed, having been born in October 1875 and was a student in the Mission School at Karachi and left for England in January 1893 that his father carried on business in his son's name and had dealings with plaintiff that the Hundis were drawn on account and were signed by him at his father's instance—that the account between his father and plaintiff showed that the Hundis had been discharged, that he was not liable for the amount sued for or any part thereof. The suit came for hearing before Mr. J. C. Gloster, the Joint Judge. The principal issues in the suit were: (1) was defendant No. 2 (Jinnah) a minor at the time of the Hundis and (2) whether the Hundis had been discharged.

The learned Judge dismissed the suit of the plaintiff by holding that the Hundis had been discharged by the various payments made by the defendants, which were ignored in the plaint and which did

not reflect well on the fairness of the plaintiff. Unfortunately the learned Judge did not give any definite finding on the issue of Mr. Jinnah's minority and observed as under :

"Holding as I do for the above reason that the Hundis have been discharged, the question of Defendant 2's minority does not require decision, but as evidence has been adduced it is desirable to record a finding, without questioning the genuineness of the certificates (of 1887 and other dates) setting forth that Defendant 2 was born on the 20th October 1875. It will be readily seen that these certificates carry us practically no further back than the statement now made by Defendant 2's father. That the same statement was made in 1887. I see no grounds for doubting, but the real question is whether the accuracy of these statements is sufficiently established. There is no record of the date of Defendant 2's birth. In April 1896 he was under the impression that he was under 21 and though an attempt has been made to fix the date by reference to other domestic events in neighbours families and otherwise, the result of all the evidence is not in my opinion to establish beyond reasonable doubt that Defendant 2 was born in October 1875 as alleged. The argument that there would be no object in fixing October rather than any other month does not seem to me to take the matter much further. Clearly when a certificate of age was called for his age had to be fixed definitely and the question is whether it was correctly fixed. The decree will be that Plaintiff's claim be dismissed, with all Defendant 2's costs, on plaintiff."

The plaintiff being aggrieved by the above judgement and decree, appealed to the Sadar Court. Mr. Justice G. C. White worth, dismissed the appeal and confirmed the decree of the Joint Judge. The learned Judge did not at all discuss the question of minority of Mr. Jinnah. It may be mentioned that the reluctance of the learned Judge to accept School certificates about dates of birth of the students concerned is not wholly unjustified. The High Courts in the subcontinent have taken the view that entries in School Registers have little probative value as evidence of age. In fact School Certificates cannot be invested with complete sanctity. The entries in birth register in the Municipalities and other authorised agencies inspire greater con-

fidence. Unfortunately in the office of Karachi Municipality there are no records extant of births or deaths before September 1879.

It may be that as a result of the judicial verdict Mr. Jinnah and the members of his family made further enquiries and found out that instead of 20th October 1875 Mr. Jinnah was born on 25th December in 1876. In February 1918, Mrs. Sarojni Naidu in her prefact to Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Ambassador of Unity, for the first time stated that Jinnah was born on the 25th December 1876. She had, however, added that there is no reliable record of the actual year. Mrs. Naidu was a close friend of the Quaid-i-Azam and the source of her information must be the Quaid-i-Azam.

In 1939, the birthday of the Quaid-i-Azam was for the first time celebrated on the 25th December as a public event. Acknowledging the greetings the Quaid-i-Azam said: "I appreciate very much, indeed, the concern that the Muslims of India have shown me personally on the occasion of my birthday." Since then the Christmas Day has been celebrated as his birthday.

On his birthday in 1940 Mahmud Hassan, the Editor of the Daccan Times, who subsequently became the Manager of Dawn, published a book of appreciation and presented it to the Quaid-i-Azam. In 1945 Mrs. Rafia Sharif Pirzada compiled a book of Tributes under the title "Souvenir to Quaid-i-Azam". The book was presented to Quaid-e-Azam on his birthday early in the morning and she had the privilege of having breakfast with him.

The last birthday of the Quaid-i-Azam fell on a Friday in 1947. In the morning thousands of people assembled at the Polo Ground in Karachi where the Quaid-i-Azam reviewed the parade of the combined forces of Pakistan. Birth greetings poured into the Governor-General's House from all parts of the world including the British Prime Minister Mr. Clement Attlee. President Truman in a message said: "I am happy on this national holiday of Pakistan to send you my sincere birthday felicitations and to convey to you and the people of Pakistan good wishes of the people of the United States". The Quaid-i-Azam replied: "Pakistan and I deeply appreciate and

thank you for the good wishes of the people of the United States and felicitations on the occasion of my birthday." After the demise of Quaid-i-Azam his birthday has been officially declared as a Gazetted holiday by the Government of Pakistan.

The passports of the Quaid-i-Azam contain authentic entries about the place and date of his birth. The passport No. 400878 issued on 4th July 1936, inter alia, contains following particulars: Place and date of birth: Karachi, 25th December 1876.

Last, but not the least, reliance may be placed on the relevant correspondence of the Quaid-e-Azam. The Anjam Weekly of Delhi in its letter of 25th April 1946 wrote to the Quaid-i-Azam: "We beg to state that contributions to the Muslim League Election Fund, by the subscribers of the Anjam Illustrated Weekly, through the efforts of its Gumnam Manujjim, have been too numerous, since the Fund was started. The subscribers of the same are pressing hard now, to obtain from you, the time, date and place of your birth, and to erect your horoscope and of Pakistan Demand, and to publish the same in the Weekly." The Quaid-i-Azam in his reply of 30th April 1946 stated:

"The information that you require is as follows:

Time :	Early Morning.
Date:	25th December 1876.
Place:	Karachi.

This should conclude the controversy, if any, about the place and date of birth of the Quaid-i-Azam.

MARRIAGE OF MR. JINNAH

Love is said to be a many splendoured thing. There is the story of the very strange romance of George Bernard Shaw and Ellen Terry, a love affair that took place entirely on paper. For the great writer trembled to test his affection in the crucible of reality and actually avoided meeting his beloved face to face. The ideal love

affair, wrote Bernard Shaw, 'is one conducted by post'. Though love be the stuff of legend, it is also the stuff of life. Behind the fantasies of films, novels, poems, plays and paintings there stand real flesh and blood men and women—pulsating hearts that found the greatest adventure of all. The halo of love can envelope any one—a head-strong princess, an ambitious admiral, a Great General, a professional president and a president privileged with triple terms. The Duke of Windsor renounced the throne of England to marry Wallis Warifield Simpson. The love of each of these won a place in history. A part of history is the love of Ruttie Petit and Mr. Jinnah. The love story of the two can be summed up in the two words - Court and Courtship.

Margaret Bourke White, the well known American Journalist, in her book "Half Way to Freedom" referring to Ruttie Petit alleges that the glimpse of his future bride occurred when Jinnah was calling at the home of his close friend, Sir Dinshaw Petit, a wealthy Bombay businessman. The baby was born just as he entered the house, and Sir Dinshaw, placing the infant in Jinnah's arm, said: "You shall be the first to hold my daughter." This is wholly incorrect and fictitious. Ruttie was born on 20th February 1900. At that time Quaid-e-Azam was struggling at the Bar. As a junior he was attending the chambers of Mr. Macpherson, the then Advocate-General of Bombay and was not close to or connected with the Petit family. Ruttie and Jinnah met for the first time on October 1916. By that time, though sixteen, Ruttie had grown into a full woman. Pretty and precocious, she was brought up in an atmosphere of poetry. Even at the age of eleven, her father presented to her a copy of the complete works of Alford Lord Tennyson. The inscription on the book reads: "To dear Ruttie from her loving Papa, 14th December 1911, the date of the birth of her little brother Jamshed". By the time she met Jinnah she had read and devoured Shelly, Keats, Browning, Burns, a host of other poets, a number of plays and novels. Their impact on the impressionable Ruttie was inevitable. She became romantic. It is in that atmosphere that she met the hero of her dreams. She felt attracted to the tall and towering, handsome and heroic Jinnah who was already by that time in the front rank in the political and forensic fields. In that year Mr. Jinnah had spent the two months of summer

vacations in Darjeeling with Sir Dinshaw and Lady Dinbai Petit and there Ruttie and Jinnah fell in love with each other. As they returned to Bombay in early June, all Bombay heard of their impending marriage but the Parsi parents did not like the idea of their daughter marrying a Muslim. Mr. M. C. Chagla, the former Foreign Minister of India, writes :

> "The story about Jinnah's marriage is extremely interesting, and I do believe it is authentic. Sir Dinshaw Petit and, Jinnah were great friends, and the former was very fond of the latter and admired his stout-hearted nationalism and also his impressive personality. Once Sir Dinshaw invited Jinnah to spend his holidays with him in Darjeeling. Ruttie, the future Mrs. Jinnah, was also there, and Jinnah and she came into close contact and she decided to get married. Jinnah then went to Sir Dinshaw and asked him what his views were about inter-communal marriages. Sir Dinshaw, fully off his guard, expressed his emphatic opinion that it would considerably help national integration and might ultimately prove to be the final solution to inter-communal antagonism. Thereupon Jinnah calmly told him that he wanted to marry his daughter. Sir Dinshaw was taken aback. He had not realised that his remarks might have serious personal repercussions. He was most indignant, and refused to countenance any such idea which appeared to him absurd and fantastic." [1]

As Ruttie was under 18 years of age, the parents as guardian of the girl, obtained an injunction against Mr. Jinnah marrying or having any contacts with her. So Jinnah and Ruttie did not meet for about two years. But time and separation did not make her forget Jinnah. As she reached 18 she walked out of the parental house. Law could no longer stand in the way of love. The injunction of the Court, by the efflux of time, automatically stood dissolved and as there was no impediment of any kind whatsoever, Jinnah and Ruttie were married.

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[1] Roses in December, p. 119.

Reference may be made to the mode of Marriage. Asif Ali, Humayun Kabir, and a number of other nationalist muslims contracted inter-communal marriages through the mode popularly called Civil Marriage. Mr. Jinnah chose not to have a civil marriage as under the Special Marriages Act such marriages could be celebrated between persons neither of whom professed the Mohamedan, Parsi or Hindu religion. Under the schedule to the said Act separate declarations on oath and solemn affirmation had to be made by the Bridegroom and the Bride that he or she does not profess Mohamedan, Parsi, or Hindu religion. Therefore the marriage of the Quaid-i-Azam was solemnised according to Islamic rites. On 18th April 1918 Ruttie embraced Islam and adopted the Muslim name of Ratan Bai. It was Thursday and 6th of Rajab according to Islamic Calendar—the day of Urs of Hazrat Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti of Ajmer. On this day Umar Subhani and later Mohammed Ali Maniar used to send 'Niaz' to the Quaid-i-Azam. Rais Ahmed Jafri in his Biography of Quaid-i-Azam states that the conversion took place in the Jamia Masjid of Bombay. In the Times of India, the Statesman and other newspapers an announcement appeared on 19th April 1918 that "Miss Ruttan Bai, only daughter of Sir Dinshaw Petit, yesterday underwent conversion to Islam and is today to be married to the Hon'ble Mr. M. A. Jinnah". Accordingly, in the evening of Friday, 19th April 1918 the marriage of Mr. Jinnah with Ruttan Bai took place at the Bungalow of Quaid-i-Azam on the Mount Pleasant Road, then known as South Court. At that time it was a nineteenth century bungalow. It was demolished in 1939 and was replaced by a splendid mansion designed by the architect Mr. Claude Batley.

Mr. Sharif Devji arranged Isna Ashari Kazi. Nikahnama was duly signed. In or about 1945 when the General Elections were taking place Mazhar Ali Khan, the Ahrar leader, alleged that Mr. Jinnah had contracted a civil marriage with Ruttie Petit. Shorish Kashmiri writes that this was repudiated by Hafiz Ali Bahadur Khan, the prominent Ahrar leader of Bombay, who produced the copy of the Nikahnama and a famous columnist through the files of the associated press of India traced the news of Ruttie's conversion to Islam in the mosque and her marriage

according to Islamic rites. According to Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, his father signed the marriage contract on Mr. Jinnah's behalf while Maulana Muhammad Hasan Najafi signed for Mrs. Jinnah. Mr. Rizwan Ahmed recalls that the Nikahnama reveals that Hazrat Shariat Madar Aqai Haji Shaikh Abdul Hasham Najafi and Mirza Mohammad Ali Khan, the Mahrajkumar of Mahmudabad were the vakils of the bridegroom and Sharif Devji and Ghulam Ali were the vakils of the Bride. Omar Sobhani was the witness to Nikah ceremony.

The Nikah Register gives only a brief summary thereof under Entry No. 118. According to it the Mehar was Rs. 1001 and that Quaid-i-Azam also gifted to Rattan Bai a sum of Rs. 1,25,000.

In the Book entitled "Meet Mr. Jinnah" by Mr. A. A. Raoof, then Editor of the Deccan Times, published in May 1944, at page 34 it was alleged that Mr. Jinnah got thirty lakhs in dowry. This was repeated in the Review of that book in the Hindu Madras. On 19th August 1944, the Quaid-i-Azam wrote to the Editor of the paper that this is absolutely untrue and asked the paper to publish the contradiction. The necessary correction appeared in the issue of Hindu of August 27, 1944. Mr. Raoof in his letter of 2nd September 1944 apologised to the Quaid-i-Azam and said that he was anxious that mistakes, if any, should be corrected before the book goes in for a second impression and invited the Quaid-i-Azam to make his suggestions. On 5th September 1944 Quaid-i-Azam wrote to Mr. Raoof :

> "I should have thought that you would have realised, on careful consideration, that it is not possible for me to undertake the task of revising your book, and that it is the duty of an author not to give publicity to any incidental facts relating to the life of any one without making sure of them before hand. It is for you to ascertain the correct facts and omit from your book anything based on rumours and fiction. I would have certainly taken a very serious view of this matter but for the fact that I know of your regard for me and that your intentions are good. I would therefore request

you to exclude from your book anything of which you are not sure regarding my private life, as I cannot undertake the revision of the Book. If it were possible for me to do so, I might have written my own autobiography, for which I have no time.

The couple spent their honeymoon in Nainital. Soon thereafter, the life became hectic. Mr. Jinnah apart from his legal and political engagements was having encounters with Lord Willingdon, the then Governor of Bombay. On the 10th December 1918 the meeting convened by the Sheriff of Bombay was to be held at the Town Hall, Bombay to vote a citizens' address to Lord Willingdon on his retirement. Mr. Jinnah and hundreds of his followers occupied the hall in time and remained there until the police broke up the meeting in confusion. Ruttie was at the steps of the Town Hall where thousands of people had assembled to join the demonstrations. She stood bravely there inspite of police rowdyism. Both Mr. and Mrs. Jinnah received injuries. The day was won and the address to Willingdon was not voted. To celebrate the victory of Mr. Jinnah on the suggestion of Mr. B. D. Lam, Solicitor, a one rupee fund was started by the citizens of Bombay and peoples' Jinnah Memorial Hall was built in the Congress House Compound.

In May 1919 Mr. Jinnah went to England to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Montagu Bill. Ruttie went with him. On the night of 14th August 1919 Mr. and Mrs. Jinnah went to the theatre. They sat in a box but had to leave it hurriedly and to return home quickly. Just after midnight their only daughter Dina was born.

For about couple of years the Jinnahs were quite close to Gandhiji. Mahadev Desai the Private Secretary of the Mahatma Gandhi, in his diary makes more than one reference to meetings between Gandhi and Ruttie. In the summer of 1919 the Jinnahs were in London. On June 28, 1919 Mahatma Gandhi wrote to the Quaid-i-Azam as under: "Pray tell Mrs. Jinnah that I shall expect her on her return to join the hand-spinning class that Mrs. Banker senior and Mrs. Ramabai, a Punjabi lady, are conducting. I hope you will both

keep well during your stay." On April 30, 1920 Gandhiji wrote to Mrs. Jinnah; "Please remember me to Mr. Jinnah and do coax him to learn Hindustani or Gujrati. If I were you, I should begin to talk to him in Gujrati or Hindustani. There is not much danger of your forgetting your English or your misunderstanding each other. Is there ? Will you do it? Yes, I could ask this even for the love you bear me". Gandhi asked Ruttie to get Mr. Jinnah to agree to boycott of all foreign goods including British goods. Ruttie told him that boycott of all foreign goods or British goods was neither politically wise nor was it practicable. Difference between Gandhiji and Quaid-i-Azam cropped at the Calcutta session of Congress held in September 1920. First rift, however, took place between the two on or about 3rd October 1920 when under the chairmanship of Mr. Gandhi the constitution of the Home Rule League was unconstitutionally changed. The parting came at the famous Nagpur session of the Congress held in December 1920 when under Gandhiji's guidance the delegates voted for the change in the Congress Creed. Mr. Jinnah protested against Mr. Gandhi's extreme measures. The correspondent of the Times of India wrote: "Then Mr. Jinnah with the usual smile on his face mounted the platform with an ease suggestive of self-confidence and the conviction of the man, and opposed in an argumentative, lucid and clear style, the change of creed. He treated with contempt the jeering of the mob and their dictation and ended by appealing to Mr. Gandhi to cry halt". Ruttie was present at the session and stood by the Quaid-i-Azam. After the congress session on 3rd January 1922, the Jinnah's returned to Bombay by train. Maulana Shaukat Ali was also in the train. What happened at Akola may be recalled from the letter entitled 'Non-cooperation in practice' which appeared in the Times of India under the initials R—: "At Akola Mr. Shaukat Ali delivered a short lecture to those who had assembled on the platform and at the end of lecture he incited them to hoot Mr. Jinnah who was seated in the first class compartment with cries of 'Shame'. Sir ! this sort of thing is the negation of non-cooperation of which non-violence is the essence."[1]

The wives of the Governors and the Viceroys were rather envious

[1]. The Times of India 13th January 1921.

of Ruttie, her dresses and her ornaments. Once Ruttie was wearing a low-cut dress which just came in fashion at a party at the Bombay Government House. While they were seated at the dining table, Lady Willingdon asked an A.D.C. to bring a wrap for Mrs. Jinnah, in case she felt cold. Mr. Jinnah rose and said: "When Mrs. Jinnah feels cold, she will say so, and ask for a wrap herself." Then he led his wife from the dining room and from that time, refused to go to Willingdons again.[1] Alice the Consort of Earl Reading, the Viceroy of India in one of her letters wrote: There is a young lawyer from Bombay called Jinnah. Popular opinion says he is an Indian Lloyd George. He came to lunch with his wife. Very pretty, a complete minx. A tight dress of brocade cut to waist back and front, no sleeves, and over it and her head flowered shiffon as a sari.[2] In another letter Countess Reading said about Ruttie, "Her attire was a Liberty Scarf, a jewelled bandeau and an emerald necklace. She is extremely pretty, fascinating, terribly made up. All the men raved about her, the women sniffed." [3]

Ruttie and Jinnah were guests at the dinner at the Viceregal Lodge and when she was introduced to Lord Chelmsford, she did not follow the British coustom of curtesying to the Viceroy. Instead she greeted him in the Indian way. After dinner the A.D.C. took Ruttie to talk to the Viceroy. Lord Chelmsford pompously told her: "Mrs. Jinnah your husband has a great political future, you must not spoil it. In Rome you must do as the Romans do." Mrs. Jinnah retorted quickly: "That is exactly what I did your Excellency. In India I greeted you in the Indian way." That was the first and the last time she met Lord Chelmsford.

In 1921 Ruttie was sitting next to Lord Reading at lunch in New Delhi. Lord Reading was moaning and groaning. He said to her: "Mrs. Jinnah, how I wish I could go to Germany. I very much want to go there. But I cannot go there?" Mrs. Jinnah asked: "Your

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1. Jinnah by Hector Bolitho, p. 75.
2. Letter of 13th February 1924 quoted in the Viceroy's Wife by Iris Butter, p. 133.
3. Ibid, p. 144.

Excellency, why can't you go there"? Reading replied: "The Germans do not like us, the British, so I can't go." Ruttie quickly asked: "How then did you come to India"? Reading immediately changed the subject.[1]

Ruttie Jinnah's personality is difficult to pinpoint on paper. It was fleeting in terms of time and had an evanescent quality not easy to portray and capture in words. She was a woman of great sensitivity, intelligence and charm with a social and political conscience which found expression in varied field activity and interest. She was a connoisseur of clothes and curios. Apart from jade and jewels she collected first edition of a number of literary books.

She had a large number of dogs and cats and she personally looked after them. She took interest in (Homes for decrepit animals) Pinjrapoles in Bombay, Chembur and Kalyan and looked into the conditions of living of the suffering animals. Both Ruttie and Mr. Jinnah were interested in social work. They encouraged their common friend Kanji Dwarkadas in his social work and also used to discuss his investigations in the brothel areas and took practical and realistic point of view. They were for reducing the cruelties and inhumanities of the immoral trade and they did succeed to some extent. The Bombay Children Act suggested by Kanji Dwarkadas was passed in 1924 and put into force in May 1927. The legislation, inter alia, enabled the removal of children, boys and girls under 18 from unhealthy and immoral surroundings.

At her instance Mr. Jinnah read various plays, specially plays of Noel Coward and their reviews.

Ruttie was fond of consulting astrologers and palmists. According to the testimonial given by Ruttie, various accurate forecasts were made by Khurshed Basharat Pandit. It may be that her interest in astrologers was aroused by an incident which had happened earlier. After Ruttie's marriage Mr. Jinnah brought her to Delhi where, laughing and happy, she met an Irish woman named Mrs.

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1. Ruttie Jinnah by Kanji Dwarkadas, pp. 16-17.

Harker, who was alleged to have been possessed of second sight. As she saw this beautiful young woman so happy and so gay, she turned to Mrs. Sarojni Naidu and said with a sad face:

> "My dear! I see a dreadful sight, I see this beautiful child dead before my eyes, dead ten years hence on her birthday."

There is an earlier story. Once in the Taj Mahal Hotel at Bombay, an Irish woman, who was a Clairvoyant asked Mrs. Naidu if Mr. Jinnah suffered any pain in his arm. Mrs. Naidu enquired of Mr. Jinnah, who said "yes, he did have pains in his arm sometimes". The Irish woman said: "Yes I knew. And I know also that this man will some day create a State of his own." It is not known if Ruttie and/or Jinnah had seen Cheiro's World Predictions which was first published in 1927. Cheiro had predicted about India's independence after the Great War and the partition of the Sub-Continent between the Muslims and the non-Muslims.

By 1925 Ruttie came under the influence of Mrs. Annie Besant, Mrs. James Cousins, Mrs. Dorothy Jinarjadas, J. Krishnamurti and Kanji Dwarkadas. She was propelled towards the study of so-called spiritual phenomenon. Message through dream, spirit communication telepathy, medium, clairvoyance and theosophy. She read books like - Towards Stars, Secret Doctrine, The Spirit of Irene. In the last book the incidents deal with the tracing of a murder through spirits and medium and the ultimate bringing to justice of the culprit. On 12th April 1925 Ruttie wrote to Kanji Dwarkadas about spiritualism and said: "I am slowly but sincerely drawing J's interest into the matter and by alternate bullying and coaxing I got him to read the book - The Spirit of Irene. However J. had to admit that it was remarkable and irrefutable, J. was not at all events able to find any flaw in the case." Ruttie used to call Mr. Jinnah - J. Mr. Jinnah was throughout sceptical of seances, the business of magnetising and thought transference and used to laugh at Ruttie. He was somewhat relieved when Ruttie practically gave up her fruitless and dangerous pursuits. Ruttie was a voracious reader.

1918 to 1928 was the decade of devotion for the Jinnahs. Ruttie

was always present in the sessions of the Congress and the Muslim League, the Assembly and the Courts, whenever and wherever Mr. Jinnah was in action. In the summer holidays she used to go to Kashmir or the various hill stations of India, or to the Continent. However, owing to continuous ill health Ruttie suffered from restlessness and sleeplessness. Temperamental differences cropped up between the two. In or about January 1928 Ruttie and Mr. Jinnah separated. Mr. Jinnah went to England on April 3, 1928. Ruttie followed a week later on 10th April. Later she went to Paris and fell ill. Dewan Chamanlal a common friend of the Jinnahs who was leading the Indian Workers Delegation to ILO Conference at Geneva went to Paris to see Ruttie at a Champs Elysee clinic. She was lying in bed, with a temperature of 106 degrees. She could barely move. She held a volume of Oscar Wild poems in her hand and she asked Chamanlal to read the following lines:

> And down the long and silent street
> The dawn, with silver - sandalled feet,
> Crept like a frightened girl.

When Chamanlal looked upon, Ruttie was in a coma. He hurried out and brought a doctor.

Diwan Chamanlal also telephoned London for Mr. Jinnah who, unfortunately, was in Dublin at that time. A message was relayed to him in Dublin and he rushed to Paris. Rest may be recalled in the words of Diwan Chamanlal:

"At the George V, where he stayed, he said to me, 'But Lady Petit (his mother-in-law) tells me Rati is betteı'. I said, "I have just come from the clinic and it seems to me she, with a temperature of 106 degrees, is dying." He sat still for a couple of minutes, struggling with himself and asked me to telephone the clinic which I did. He spoke to the nurse in charge who confirmed what I had told him. Thumping the arm of his chair, he said: "Come, let us go. We must save her." I left him at the clinic for nearly three hours, waiting at a nearby cafe and when he returned, the anxiety had vanished from his face. He had arranged for a new clinic and a new medical adviser."

Mr. Jinnah stayed with Ruttie in the nursing home for over a month and looked after and nursed and as Ruttie told Kanji Dwarkadas later, he ate the same food as she did at the nursing home. They returned to India separately. She with her mother. On 28th October 1928 Ruttie wrote a most moving and affectionate letter to Mr. Jinnah from Marsailles. Beseeching him she said: "She loved him so much as no man has ever received such love. The tragedy which started with love should end with love."

Mr. M. C. Chagla has recorded his memoirs: "I must say in fairness to Jinnah that no husband could have treated his wife more generously than he did. He treated her wonderfully well and paid without a murmur all the bills which were necessitated by the luxurious life she led."

On return Ruttie was with her mother. Mrs. Serojni Naidu, M. C. Chagla and Kanji Dwarkadas used to visit her. Dr Masina and Nawab Ismail Khan were trying for rapprochement between her and Mr. Jinnah. Throughout January and February 1929 Ruttie continued to be ill, depressed and distressed. She hardly went out except for short walks. Every evening Mr. Jinnah came to see her and they both kept on talking as in the old times. They were getting reconciled to each other. By the middle of February Mr. Jinnah had to go to Delhi for the Budget Session of the Assembly. On the 19th February Ruttie became unconscious. On the evening of 20th February 1929 - her birthday - she passed away. Mr. Jinnah returned from Delhi in time for the funeral on the 22nd February. Ruttie was buried under Muslim rites at the Arambagh, Bombay, arrangements whereof were made by Sharif Devji. When Ruttie's body was being lowered into the grave, Mr. Jinnah being the husband and the nearest and dearest, was the first to throw the earth therein and he broke down suddenly and sobbed and wept like a child.

Let me conclude by quotations from Kanji Dwarkadas' book - Ruttie Jinnah :

("Jinnah's personal and political life was as clean as can be and free from corruption.

(After his marriage with Ruttie in the spring of 1918, he had no separate existence away from his wife. He found in her a great source of inspiration. His personal, political and social life was always with Ruttie. She was always with him, and though she was so much younger than he, she without his realising it, looked after him and his life in all its aspects, pleasant, carefree and well worth living. Jinnah after his marriage, resigned from the Orient Club where he used to play Chess and Billiards. He never played cards. He abhorred every kind of gambling and all games of chance.

(In one of the letters Ruttie wrote: "And just one thing more - go and see Jinnah how he is - he has a habit of habitually overworking himself, and now that I am not there to bother and tease him he will be worse than ever."

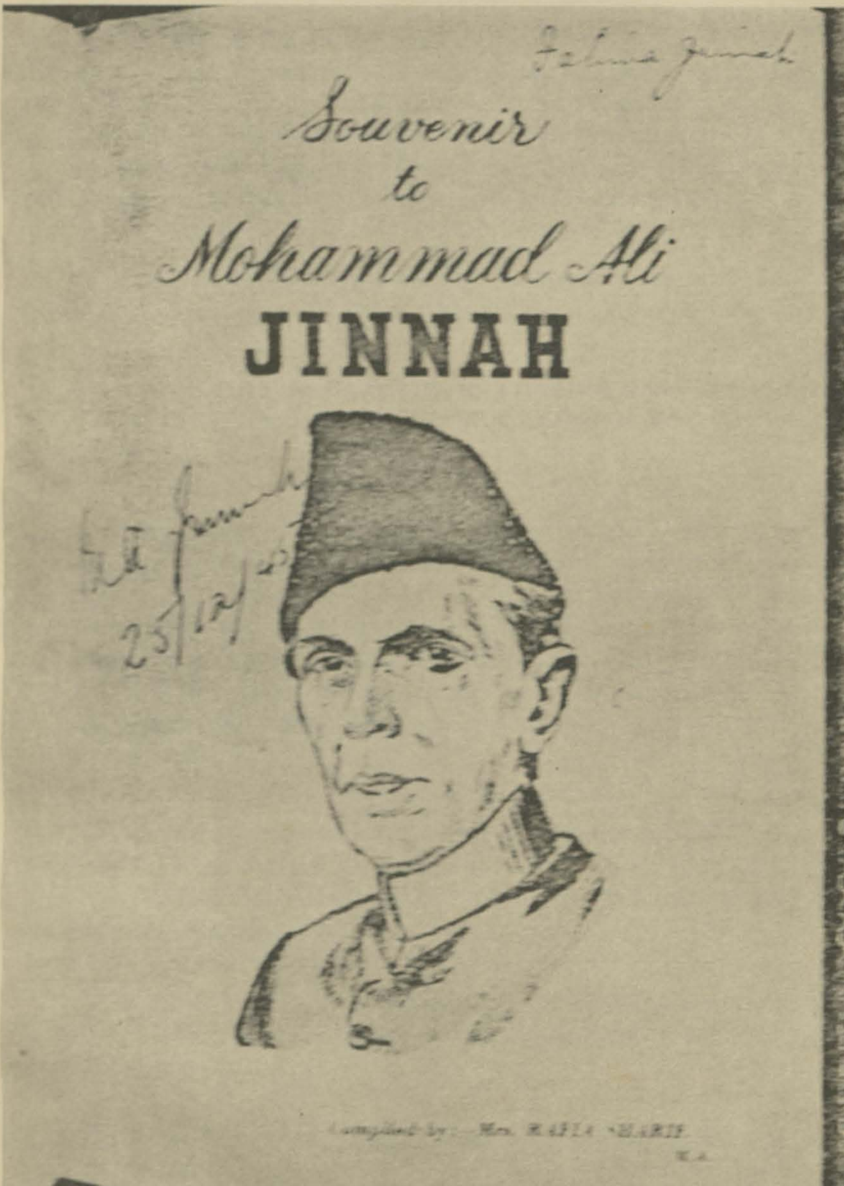
(Everyday Ruttie used to enquire from me how Jinnah was working in the Legislative Assembly. I have not the slightest doubt that if Ruttie had lived Jinnah would have asked her to go back to his house and she would have agreed and there would have been most perfect and full reconciliation between them.")

TRIBUTES TO QUAID-I-AZAM

Ottawa, May 31, 1950

Earlier Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan paid tributes to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Founder and first Governor-General of Pakistan. He said Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a "sincere, patriot, a passionate follower of the democratic idea, and a man who saw farther and more clearly than his fellows.

"He led Muslims of British India out of their perplexities and frustrations into the open air of freedom and gave shape, significance and direction to their quest for liberty.



(Wife of Mr. Sharifuddin Pirzada, former Foreign Minister of Pakistan)

"All his life he fought for freedom but since he fought for substance and not for shadow, for a thing and not for a word, he left no illusions or catch phrases to obscure his penetrating insight or confound his grasp of essentials. The 100 million suppressed Muslims knew instinctively that what he said merely gave coherence and dynamism to their own hesitant, inarticulate feelings.

"Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah struggled long and hard to forge diverse peoples of the sub-continent into a mighty nation.

"But foremost as the Quaid-i-Azam was in the ranks of those who fought for independence he was also the first to perceive the inexorable logic of facts.

> "When the time came, the Quaid-i-Azam proclaimed fearlessly that the people of British India bound together though they were in their common subjection, were not one but two nations and that to relegate 100,000,000 Muslims to the position of a perpetual political minority and to force the Hindu nation into a single unwieldy State would be a negation of democracy and would create the greatest single unstable area in the world."

The Prime Minister added: "When on August 14, 1947 our Flag was unfurled in Karachi a nation of 80,000,000 people thanked God that Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah had lived to see his dream come true.

"And when he left us to rest in God, to whose greater glory he dedicated himself we knew that he had bequeathed to us a great destiny to fulfil."

The Prime Minister declared: **"Wherever the Flag of Pakistan may fly, its Capital shall always be that hallowed piece of earth where he lies buried."**

Alva Joachim,
Editor "The Forum",

Handsome and well-groomed, obviously careful to cut a distinguished figure, Jinnah loves a fine appearance and lays emphasis on sartorial perfection. The whole line of Viceroys, Harding and Chelmsford, and Reading and Halifax and Willingdon, all admired Jinnah as "the best dressed gentleman they ever met in India." You may not have seen Jinnah all your life but you will forthwith spot the *Jinnah* sartorial vogue !

Jinnah like Parnell, is no orator, but can easily shine as one of the most effective speakers in any assembly of men.

One place will long cherish Jinnah's memory, there it remains imperishable. Courage and sheer impudence have won him fame in the law courts. His hypnotic influence bruits his fame abroad and the rumour of his name spreads in accordance with the thrills, his terrific encounter with the Judges and the bombshells he throws in the courts. As an Advocate, he possesses gifts which cast a spell on the courts..the Judges, the Juries, the Solicitors, and clients, all alike: As a Counsel, he has ever held his head erect, unruffled by the worst circumstances. He has been our boldest Advocate; no judge dare bully him. He will not brook any insult. Jinnah's ready-tongue and brilliant advocacy have worked off all 'judicial storms' and won him all round admiration. His assertiveness has frightened Judges so as not to damage his practice at the Bar in the slightest manner as was the case with late Sir Edward Marshall Hall who suffered for flashes of jury. Clients and Solicitors prize Jinnah's services for his matchless grit and courage to stand up for the causes he represents. Certain judges, notorious for their calculated insults to the junior practioners hold their tongue when face to face with Jinnah. "Mr. Jinnah", angrily shouted a British civilian occupant of a Criminal Appellate Bench, transported to High Court from the Mofussil where he had been accustomed to lord it all over the awed practitioners and frightened litigants. "You are not addressing a third class magistrate". Rapier-like flashed the thrust, the Judge none the happier for his thoughtless indiscretion. "There

isn't a third class counsel before your Lordship !"

Jinnah has preserved his position at the Bar intact and unsullied. Toadying or the remotest connection that excites suspicion is foreign to his nature. In short, he is the embodiment of the highest standards of the bar. The compliment paid him that he is "the Lord Simon of the India Bar " does not awkwardly sit on him.

(*Men and Supermen of Hindustan.*)

Ambedkar, B. R. Dr.,
M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc., Barrister-at-Law
Labour Member, Government of India
and Leader of the Indian Depressed Classes.

Mr. Jinnah who represents the ideological transformation (on the part of the Moslems) can never be suspected of being a tool in the hands of the British, even by the worst of his enemies. He may be too self-opinionated, an egotist without the mask. It may be that on that account he is unable to reconcile himself to a second place and work with others in that capacity for a public cause. He may not be overflowing with ideas although he is not, as his critics make him out to be, an empty-headed dandy living upon the ideas of others. It may be that his fame is built up more upon and less on substance. At the same time it is doubtful if there is a politician in India to whom the adjective incorruptible can be more fittingly applied. Any one who knows what his relations with the British Government have been, will admit that he has always been their critic, if indeed, he has not been their adversary. No one can buy him. For it must be said to his credit that he has never been a soldier of fortune. Sheer common sense would suggest that the customary Hindu explanation must fail to account for the ideological transformation of Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah was never a man for the masses. He distrusted them. To exclude them from political power he was always for a high franchise. Mr. Jinnah was never known to be a very devout, pious

or a professing Moslem. Besides kissing the Holy Koran as and when he was sworn as M. L. A., he does not appear to have bothered much about its contents or its special tenets. It is doubtful if he frequented any Mosque either out of curiosity or fervour. Mr. Jinnah was never found in the midst of Muslim mass congregations, religious or political. Today one finds a complete change in Mr. Jinnah. He has become a man of the masses. He is no longer above them. He is among them. Having come among them, they have raised him above themselves and call him their Quaid-i-Azam. He has not only become a believer in Islam. He is prepared to die for Islam. Today he knows more of Islam than mere *Kalma*. Today he goes to the Mosque to hear *Khutba* and takes delight in joining the Idd congregational prayers. Dongri and Null Bazar once knew Mr. Jinnah by name. Today they know him by his presence. No Moslem meeting in Bombay begins or ends without Allah-o-Akbar and Long Live Quaid-i-Azam. In spite of all this the Hindus will not give up the illusion that Pakistan is only the fancy of Mr. Jinnah and that it has no support from the Moslem masses or other Moslem Leaders.

(*Thoughts on Pakistan.*)

Atkinson Laurence P.

History records that circumstances in the life of a nation produce its leader. At a time when the Muslims of India were disorganised, split in various camps by fissiparous tendencies, when the Muslim League was a dormant body, Providence decreed Mohammed Ali Jinnah to take up the arduous task of uniting the Muslims under one banner. There is no denying that it has been his dynamic personality, his selfless character, his inexhaustible fund of energy which has, to a large measure, accounted for the growth of the Muslim League and the prestige that it occupies today in the body-politic of this country, recognized by the British and Indian Governments as the most representative mouthpiece of 90 million Muslims in this country.

One had only to cast one's mind back to 1937, when the hour was striking on the eve of the new constitution, to appreciate the

chaos which would have resulted particularly in the Province of Bengal, had not Mohammed Ali Jinnah come to the forefront with bold statesmanship and sincerity to carry the whole burden on his frail shoulders. The League, as has been said, was not functioning, was a body which existed only in name. From its dying embers Mohammed Ali Jinnah produced the flame which now is the beacon light of the Muslims from Cape Comorin to the Himalyas.

On the eve of the elections in 1936-37, Mohammed Ali Jinnah with that political perspicuity, which has been his asset throughout his long political career, realised that if the Muslims were to politically take advantage of their majority in Bengal, the Punjab and work a Coalition Government in Assam, there must be unity at the polls, Muslim energy had to be conserved, votes not wasted in order that the right men would be returned to the right places. He felt in order to do this there must be controlling organization and it was not with any desire for self-aggrandisement that he organised the League with Parliamentary Boards, and with a grim determination that there could be no compromise with discipline. At this time certain of the leaders had a parochial outlook and were obsessed with their own self-interests. Their interests made them suspicious of Mohammed Ali Jinnah and jealous of his potential power. Mohammed Ali Jinnah was spurned in certain provinces. Bitter, indeed, were those rebuffs to this veteran politician who knew every move in the game, and the dangers which lurked ahead. One by one he has lived to see the glorious vindication of his policy which he followed with indomitable courage, not caring for the obstacles which beset his way, but with a steadfast eye on his goal.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah is every inch a diplomat. After five minutes' conversation with him on a controversial matter, one can see that he stakes his all on logic and persuasion. He is not dogmatic. A clever lawyer, he submits his case with skill, and takes every point to his advantage and then leaves you to counter him if you can.

There is one point, however, that must be emphasised with regard to the League leader and that is he carries an asset rare in the life of a politician, the asset of a selfless career, a career which in

over 30 years of political life without blemish breathes at every stage selfless service to his country. I say country deliberately, for where could a greater nationalist be found in India than Mohammed Ali Jinnah? The best part of his life was spent as a most ardent nationalist in the true sense of the word. His services to nationalism are monumental. Mohammed Ali Jinnah can never be bought. The masses throughout India know this. The Hindus achnowledge this. He has never let a cause or a man down. The hollowness and the insincerity of his colleagues in nationalism, their utter selfishness and unscrupulous grasp for loaves of office left him bitterly disillusioned. He has been endowed with a brain, and rich qualities, one of which is born leadership. He now devotes day and night to the services of the Muslims of India. His reward is that he is today the All-India leader of the Muslims. Jinnah Zindabad is synonymmous with League Zindabad. His mere wish is a command, his word is something which is observed strictly to the letter. History will record that at the hour of dire need when the Muslims were foundering without a leader in the morass of indecision, Mohammed Ali Jinnah came to the forefront. He led them out in the open space of self-determination.

May he be spared many more years to serve his community and may he live to see "Pakistan" a *fait accompli.*

(*Star of India, dated April* 9, 1941.)

Chetty, R. K. Shanmukham, Sir,
Ex-President,
Indian Legislative Assembly,
Dewan of Cochin,
Ernakulam (Cochin)

It was at the famous Lucknow Congress of 1916 that I saw Mr. Jinnah for the first time. That session of the Congress was considered as a historic one, on account of the Congress League Pact. Mr. Jinnah was the dominating figure on the scene and he was hailed as "the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity."

Today some of the very persons who hailed Mr. Jinnah in 1916 in these terms are showering abuse on him. What is it that has brought about this change ? Is it because Mr. Jinnah has changed or is it because the standards applied to the conduct of politicians have changed ? The answer will necessarily vary according to the political convictions of the individual answering the question.

I have known Mr. Jinnah intimately since 1924. I have had the pleasure of working in the closest co-operation with him in the Central Legislative Assembly. Mr. Jinnah is undoubtedly a great patriot, a great Parliamentarian and a dominating personality in India. What has struck me as the most outstanding quality of Mr. Jinnah is his uncompromising independence and sense of self-respect. He is the incorruptible politician PAR EXCELLENCE. No consideration will ever make him lose his self-respect or give up his independence. The Key to Mr. Jinnah's dominating position in politics today is to be found in this uncompromising spirit of independence. With the growing spirit of nationalism all over the world the average citizen in every country is considered to be a patriot. In a country subjected to foreign rule the patriotism of a man is not taken for granted. The patriotism of an individual is measured by varying standards adopted by political parties and individuals. If the problem of patriotism is thus a complicated one in a subject nation, it becomes doubly complicated when the country is sharply divided with conflicting claims of diverse communities. Mr. Jinnah is a realistic patriot. While he yields to none in his enthusiasm to obtain the political emancipation of his country, he is not blind to the realities of the political situation. He is a believer in communal justice. It is on the edifice of communal justice that the political superstructure of India has to be built up.

Political parties and individuals, who claim a monopoly of patriotism my sneer at Mr. Jinnah, but he will stand out as a great nationalist and a real patriot.

Chimanlal, Diwan.

Jinnah is one of the few men who have no personal motives to nurse or personal aims to advance. His integrity is beyond question.

And yet he has been the loneliest of men. He has never belonged to a party unless he himself was the party. Not that he has ever refused to work shoulder to shoulder with others (as for instance, in the case of the nationalist party of 1924), but he has never allowed any man to compromise his sense of integrity. There is a well-known story of the law-courts which reveals the type of man he is. A client came to him one day and asked his advice. The file was a voluminous one and Jinnah's fees enormous. The client said he had only ten thousand rupees and Jinnah refused. Eventually the client pressed and suggested that Jinnah should stop looking at the file the moment the fee of ten thousand was exhausted (it was an arrangement at so much per hour) and give his opinion on what he had read so far. When the accounts were made up, the fee came to three thousand five hundred —and the balance was handed over by Jinnah to the client.

Cowasji Jehangir, Sir.

Knowing Mr. Jinnah as I have done for nearly forty years, it is a pleasure and a privilege to write a few words in appreciation of his long and distinguished services to his country, on the occasion of his birthday. If there is one characteristic, more than another, which distinguishes him in public life, it is his sturdy independence. Nothing will sidetrack him from what he considers is the path of truth, righteousness and equity. No amount of opposition, no threats and no danger will daunt him, in his determination. He is a man full of courage and tenacity. Few have been in public life for so long in India today as he has been and I venture to suggest that no one can accuse him of ever having been a time server or an opportunist. He has never put self or his own interests before those of his country. Such men are rarely found in public life. He stands today not only as the acknowledged leader of the millions of his Community but also as one of the foremost men in the public life of India. May Providence continue to give him health and strength to serve India in general and his great Community in particular.

Fishcher Louis.

I spent many hours with Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the President of the Moslem League of India. He is a brilliant parliamentarian, a skilled debator, and an incorruptible politician.

(*A Week with Gandhi.*)

Fyzee, A.A.A.,
M. A. (Cantab), LL. B., Bar-at-Law,
Principal, Government Law College, Bombay.

At the present time when Mr. Jinnah is the acknowledged leader of Muslims in India in the political field, it is sometimes forgotten that he had an honoured place at the Bombay Bar before he forsook it for politics. For years he continued practice at the Bar, side by side with his political career. But for the last four or five years, he has restricted himself entirely to politics. It may, therefore, be of interest to the younger generation to know what manner of lawyer Mr. Jinnah was.

Tall and slim, always immaculately dressed, Jinnah was a spectacular figure in the court. Like many a leader in the profession, he began shakily; and it is said, in his younger days, he even tried hard for a job. But ultimately by sheer merit, he succeeded in the profession and reached the top.

As a lawyer, Jinnah was an advocate rather than a jurist. He could present the most complicated facts in such a simple and logical fashion, his advocacy was so persuasive, he could cover up his own defects so well and expatiate upon the weaknesses of his opponent so matchlessly, that almost always he won the day on facts alone. It is sometimes suggested that Jinnah did not know the law. That is an over statement; he knew the law, but more often than not his style of advocacy was such that he won mostly on a skilful presentation of the facts. To take a simple illustration, if there was a simple case containing one point of law, his opponent would stress the point of law. On the other hand, Jinnah after stating the law, would state the facts in such a way as to make the conclusion seem logically inevitable.

Jinnah's manner in court was extremely urbane, courteous and cultured. So long as you did not attack him, he was the soul of politeness; but woe be to the man who tried to put him down or attack him. He has a great gift of repartee and is capable of smashing any opponent, be he counsel or judge.

His pronunciation is good; his sentences short; his voice soft;

and altogether he is gifted with an extremely pleasing manner in court. Another aspect of his advocacy was that he was a good debater, and a skilful cross-examiner.

But above all, as a leader of the Bar, he will be remembered most for the way in which he always upheld the highest traditions of the profession. His code of honour was perfect. It was impossible to imagine him doing anything contrary to the etiquette of the Bar, and wherever there was a difficult question regarding the etiquette to be followed in a particular case, the opinion of Mr. Jinnah was eagerly sought and almost always followed. Thus, in regard to the practice of a lawyer, his was an admirable example to be followed by the junior members of the Bombay Bar.

Now that he has left the profession and become a political leader of the first order, his career at the Bar has ended. And while it is too early to pass final judgement on his place in the Bombay Bar, it is safe to assume that he will be long remembered as a great advocate; spectacular in appearance, skilful in the presentation of facts, admirable for upholding the etiquette of the Bar, and one who earned an all-India reputation by a combination of qualities which made him a unique figure.

Gandhi, M. K.

The Muslim League is a great organisation. Its President (Mr. Jinnah) was at one time an ardent Congressman. He was the rising hope of the Congress. His battles with Lord Willingdon cannot be forgotten. The Jinnah-Hall of the Bombay Congress is a standing monument of the President's labours for the Congress and the mark of Congressmen's generous appreciation of his services.

(*Harijan—Oct.* 7, 1939.)

I know you have acquired a unique hold on the Muslim masses.

(*Letter to Mr. Jinnah, Dated* 15, *September* 1944.)

I want to make it clear that I believe Mr. Jinnah is sincere. . . .I am convinced that Mr. Jinnah is a good man.

(*Interview to News Chronicle, Dated* 29 *September* 1944.)

On the Deliverance Thanksgiving Day, declared by Jinnah Sahib, I had the following wire from Gulbarga Muslims:

"Deliverance Day greetings, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah zindabad."

When I received it, I silently joined the senders in the wish "Long live Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah." The Quaid-i-Azam is an old comrade. What does it matter that to day we do not see eye to eye in some matters? That can make no difference in my goodwill towards him.

(*Harijan Jan.* 20, 1940.)

I observe from Quaid-i-Azam's speeches that he has no quarrel with the Hindus. He wants to live at peace with them.

(*Harijan March* 8, 1942.)

Gokhale, Gopal Krishna.

"Jinnah has true stuff in him and that freedom from all sectarian prejudice which will make him the best ambassador of the Hindu-Muslim Unity."

Gunther John,
(Author of Inside Europe & Inside Asia).

Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the President of the All-India Moslem League, which is the Moslem analogy to Congress is a prominent lawyer who was born in 1876.

An eloquent orator, Jinnah led a joint Hindu-Muslim agitation in Bombay to attack a proposal for a public memorial to Lord Willingdon, then retiring as Governor of Bombay. It was decided to name a public hall in Jinnah's honour, and it was dedicated the people's Jinnah hall with appropriate ceremonies.

Mr. Jinnah has one distinction so far as the brief acquaintance of this reporter is concerned. He is beyond doubt the thinnest man I ever saw.

(*Inside Asia.*)

Haroon, Haji Abdulla, Sir,
Late President, The Sind Provincial Muslim Laegue.

Jinnah is the uncrowned king of Muslim India. In the Islamic world as a whole he happens to be the greatest Muslim statesman of this age. In the matter of service to Islam his record is great and glorious. In the future history of Muslim India he will figure as a great benefactor of Mussalmans. He created awakening among the Muslims of India and brought them under one banner at a most critical time in their history when they were about to meet with the same fate which had met the unfortunate Dravidians some centuries ago. He is the founder of a new India in which all nations can live happily together. May God give him long life.

Iftikharuddin, Mian,
Ex-President, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee.

I realised within two years of my joining the Congress that Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, and not Maulana Azad, represented the aspirations of Muslims. I fully grasped the issue, namely that India's independence could only be achieved through the united efforts of the Hindus and Muslims who were organisationally represented by the Congress and the Muslim League respectively.

(*Extract from a speech delivered at a public meeting held in Lahore on October* 29, 1945).

Iqbal, Mohammed, Dr. Sir,
M.A., Ph. D., Bar-at-Law.

Mr. Jinnah is the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm

which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India.

(*Letter of Dr. Iqbal to Mr. Jinnah, Dated* 31*st June* 1937).

In the annual meeting of Bazm-e-Iqbal in March 1940 when Mr. Jinnah was presiding Sir Abdul Qadir read a passage from a letter of Dr. Iqbal to a friend (that friend during Doctor Saheb's last illness wrote to him praying for his speedy recovery) and pray listen to the reply of the Poet of the East:

"My message has been duly delivered. My time is up. Instead of praying for me you should pray for the lives of Ataturk and Mr. Jinnah who have yet to fulfil their missions."

James, F. E.,
Ex-Leader of the European Group,
Central Indian Legislative Assembly.

As a colleague of Mr. Jinnah in the Central Legislative Assembly for some years, I have greatly admired his unique parliamentary gifts. As a political strategist it is difficult to find his equal in India today.

(*Illustrated Weekly of India, Dated December* 29, 1940.)

I welcome this opportunity of paying a tribute to Mr. M. A. Jinnah on the occasion of his birthday. Of his unique parliamentary gifts I have had first hand evidence as a member of the Central Legislture during the past eight years. He is a powerful debater and a first class strategist. But he is more than that. He is a leader of men, fearless and incorruptible. He has done great work for his community. He has united and inspired them. He has made them

conscious of their destiny and strength. As a patriot, he seeks freedom both for his country and his community. I wish him and his Muslim brethren " Many happy returns of this Day."

Jayakar, M. R.

I have known Mr. Jinnah for the last sixteen years in close association as a colleague in nationalist life and I can assure you that he comes before us today neither as a naughty boy nor as a spoiled child but as fearless and lucid advocate of the Muslims, whose claims he puts forward. He has every right to be heard on the merits of his cause.

(*Extract from a speech, December*, 18928).

Khan, Abdul Qayyum,
B. Sc. (Econ), Bar-at-law,
Ex-Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly.

"Respected Quaid-i-Azam, I beg to communicate to you what I consider to be the most momentous decision of my life. This is the result of anxious heart-searching and hard thinking for days on end.

I have decided to join the Muslim League.

I believe that the stand taken by you is absolutely correct and that any Muslim who opposes you is betraying the cause of Islam in India.

I am now awaiting your order and will do as I am told.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAYYUM."

(*Letter Dated August* 16, 1945 *addressed to Mr. Jinnah*).

Lam, B. D.

(An Attorney of Bombay, Lam by name, in December 1918, came out in the papers with a suggestion that a fund be raised in honour of this great leader (Mr. Jinnah) in which very one of his admirers should contribute at least one rupee, so that a memorial be raised for the purpose of perpetuating the happy occasion.

Lam's idea met with much enthusiastic response from the public and voluntary contributions began to pour in at once with great rapidity, as a result of which, within a short time, was built the famous Jinnah People's Memorial Hall, which still stands as the symbol of Bombay's affection for this great man).

Lam's suggestion in the form of a letter was published in the Bombay Chronicle, and as it is valuable for its facts and sentiments, it is given below in full:

'Sir, I have read with great pride and deep emotion the reports of yesterdays' meeting and I cannot withhold my high admiration for the bold and fearless leadership of Mr. Jinnah in inaugurating a new era in the public life of Bombay.

The real issues of this fight have been clouded by the excitement caused by the conduct of the police and the supporters of the Sheriff's meeting. We have, therefore, to look at the result in its proper light, and the true test of the success of Mr. Jinnah and his noble band of supporters lies in two great facts. The first is that the supposed public meeting lasted only a few minutes and no speeches could be made by the supporters of Lord Willingdon. To call this a meeting of the citizens of Bombay to vote a memorial is sham and hypocrisy. The second great truth is that no Sheriff will henceforth make bold to flout public opinion and call a meeting in the name of the citizens of Bombay. That is an achievement of which Mr. Jinnah and his followers have reasons to be proud.

If, as a result of the meeting, anybody deserves a memorial it is Mr. Jinnah whose fine leadership and fearless courage have marked a great epoch in the public life of Bombay. He has shown the spirit of our late lamented leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji and Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

We should mark our great appreciation of Mr. Jinnah's service by raising a fund in which each of his supporters should contribute one rupee. That rupee will come not from a man's pocket but from his heart. If we had our own way we would raise a statue of Mr. Jinnah to be placed in the Town Hall of Bombay, for Mr. Jinnah has for ever laid low the tyranny of Town Hall meetings held in the name of the public. His name will be cherished for ever as the great Indian who stood for the rights of the people. Town Halls in every city are symbols of their true public spirit. That spirit never existed in Bombay, but Mr. Jinnah has established it on firm basis in yesterday's proceedings. We ought not to allow this occasion to pass without a fitting tribute to Mr. Jinnah. A souvenir ought to be presented to him to mark the everlasting services he has rendered not only to Bombay but to the whole of India.

Yours etc.,

113 Esplanade Road. B.D. LAM'.

(*Mohammad Ali Jinnah—A Political Study.*)

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Mathews, Herbert L.
(Of New York Times Magazine).

In New York at that time one was indoctrinated mainly with the Congress picture. That showed all India, from ancient scholars and big industrialists down to the poorest peasant in a village, fiercely demanding independence, and determined and eager to kick the British out. Everybody was united under the Congress banner, everybody knew all about Gandhi and followed him implicitly.

Of course there were some Muslim dissidents, but really 9 out of 10 Muslims were with the Congress, and anyway, there was not any difference between Mussalmans and Hindus. The British were faithless, hopeless, charityless imperialists whose only object in India was to squeeze out her life blood and incidentally to rule by dividing the Hindus and Muslims.

Such was the picture which this writer and other American journalists took to India. It quickly began to get confused on arrival as other viewpoints were presented, but it lingered on and died hard. One's first stage towards wisdom had to be the recognition that the picture was not simple or clear, that the British had much to say on their side, that the Indians were not united and that Muhammed Ali Jinnah, who was contemptuously dismissed in New York as a political tool of the British with little following, was indeed one of the most important factors in the Indian situation.

Gradually the kaleidoscope began to take on a vague pattern which did not conform to any of the pictures that had been so confidently presented. The Congress picture weakened with dismaying rapidity for one who wanted to believe in it, and in the course of time an overwhelming mass of evidence was built up showing that the Congress claim to represent India was not true or fair. The vast majority of Muslims were against them. The peasants had no political consciousness and when they had voted for the Congress, they did so because of the religious value of Gandhi's magic name plus the power of the organisation and much money supplied by rich Hindu bania and industrialists, and the support was not nearly so extensive as the Congressites claimed. There are great stretches of India where Gandhi has never been and where his name is virtually unknown.

The Congressmen and their sympathizers had ignored some 562 princely States covering about 2/5ths of India's area and containing more than a quarter of her population. There, despite claims to the contrary, the Congress had hardly any following.

So when it came to drawing a definitive picture, one could only

say that in truth the Congress represented the vast majority of politically conscious Hindus in British India.

But there is another great political organisation and that is the Muslim League. During this past year it has gained in power by leaps and bounds, while the congress leaders languished in jail and stuck stubbornly and disastrously to a policy of Civil Disobedience which barred the Congress from any part of the country and alienated much of world sympathy.

The strength of Jinnah and the League was a great surprise to the correspondent. Jinnah never had much of a press in the United States and was not personally so colourful or attractive as Gandhi and Nehru. Yet the correspondent's studies in every part of India where he went into the question of communal tension convinced him that at least 9 out of 10 politically conscious Moslems in British India are with the Muslim League.

(*Bombay Chronicle, Dated 24th October* 1943.)

Mody H. P., Sir.

Mr. Jinnah has long been one of the dominant figures of our political life. His has been a chequered career, with many apparent contradictions, but throughout it certain fundamental characteristics have stood out. He is fearless and straightforward, seeks no popularity and is singularly free from political intrigue. An arresting personality—one may dislike or condemn, but cannot ignore him—his contribution to the political life of India has been outstanding.

As one who has known Mr. Jinnah for many year, I can wish him nothing better than that he may long continue to occupy the place he has created for himself.

Montagu,
Secretary of State for India (1918).

We were face to face now with the real giants of the Indian political world. We had not these dupes and adherents from the

Provinces, but we had here a collection of the first class politicians of the various Provinces. Old Surendranath Bannerjee, the veteran from Bengal, read the address which was beautifully written and beautifully read. There was Modholkar from the Central Provinces, Jinnah from Bombay, Mazhar-ul-Haq and Hasan Imam from Bihar and Orissa, Gandhi, Mrs. Besant, Kesava Pilai and so on. All the brains of the movement were there. But the difficulty is, as I have so often said, that owing to the thinness with which we have spread education, they have run generations away from the rest of India and whatever might be done in theory, in practice this would be only another and indigenous autocracy.

They were followed by Jinnah, young, perfectly mannered, impressive looking, armed to the teeth with dialectics, and insistent upon the whole of his scheme. All its short comings, all its drawbacks,—the elected members of the Executive Council, the power of the minority to hold up finance—all these were defended as the best make-shifts they could devise short of responsible government. Nothing else would satisfy them. They would rather have nothing if they could not get the whole lot. I was rather tired and funked him. Chelmsford tried to argue with him, and was tied up into knots. Jinnah is a very clever man, and it is, of course an outrage that such a man should have no chance of running the affairs of his own country.

(*Extract from his Diary.*)

Moore, Arthur, Sir,
Editor, The "Statesman".

I have been taking some pains to discover as accurately as I can the reason for the rapid rise in Mr. Jinnah's influence of recent years. Not very long ago the Muslim League was only one of several competing, quarrelling Muslim organisations, none of which had wide membership or caused the Congress much anxiety. Mr. Jinnah had made a definite position for himself as leader of an Independent party in the Assembly, which included Hindus and Parsees and was in no way communal. His presidency of the Muslim League was of very secondary importance.

Now his position is altogether different. The answer should be important for us all (not least for the Congress) if we can get it right.

Here are my own conclusions based on such information as I have.

First Mr. Jinnah has to thank his own instinct for leadership. When the Congress Governments in the Provinces resigned in the Autumn of 1939, their calculation was that it would plunge the country into mourning and prove an effective political stroke.

Without a moment's hesitation Mr. Jinnah stepped straight to the front and proclaimed a day of National Thanksgiving. For swift and sound decision at a critical moment this piece of leadership may be compared in its own Indian sphere with Mr. Churchill's speech when Russia was attacked. The Congress was completely taken aback. It appeared like a boxer that has been winded.

Other parties were equally surprised, and the impression created was intensified by the response throughout Muslim India. The "Day" was observed almost in a religious spirit. There were no riots, and deep thanksgiving was expressed in responsible accents. It soon became clear to Governors and the rest of us (myself included) who had handed out bouquets to the Congress Governments that these Governments had been piling up for themselves amongst the Muslim villagers a dissatisfaction, distrust, and resentment which we had not understood.

Mr. Jinnah's increased ascendancy in Muslim councils is not entirely accounted for by successful strategy and tactics. It is, Muslims tell me, a tribute to a long public career in which he has shown himself to be no careerist. If Mr. Gandhi is incorruptible because he is not interested in possessions, Mr. Jinnah is incorruptible in that he possesses enough, and has earned an honourable independence in his legal profession. This, I find, counts for much. And even those Muslims who do not agree with him that the League as such should demand percentages in Cabinets, warmly approve of his thesis that for the full mobilization of the country's war effort real partnership, real sharing of the greatest effort and burden, are required.

(*Statesman.*)

Maulana Mohammed Ali.

When Moulana Mohammed Ali was being removed on a stretcher to the boat which was to take him to England for the First Round Table Conference, some ardent disciples plaintively asked him as to who after him was to lead Muslim politics in India in the stormy times which were ahead of India. "Mr. Jinnah and none else" he prayerfully blurted out of the anguish and depths of his affectionate heart. "If great God puts it in Mr. Jinnah's head to take up the job. " Our Quaid-i-Azam thus embodies in his great person the last wishful prayer of Moulana Mohammed Ali and the good fortunes of Muslim India.

Rajagopalachariar, C.,
Ex-Premier, Madras.

There has been no settlement between the Government and the people and the principal political organisations over whom such illustrious persons as Mahatma Gandhi and Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah preside. These are not small individuals—one has become as famous as the other and both of them are tremendously popular in the country. Each has a "blind following" let it be so, but it is a true following.

"Here are then two powerful popular organisations of Hindus and Muslims, both at war with the Government and therefore with all the operations of the Government. These are facts."

(*Hindu* 11*th February* 42.)

Rajah, M. C. Rao Bahadur,
Leader of the Depressed Class &
Ex-Minister of Madras.

The Muslims of India are most fortunate in possessing Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah as their leader at the present moment. All religions hold the belief that God sends suitable men into the world to work out His will and His plan from time to time and at

critical junctures. This belief is embodied in the history of Islam and of Christianity with their long line of prophets beginning from Abraham and Moses to the days of Jesus and Muhammad; and the Bhagavat Gita says that God incarnates himself to set right the affairs of men when they have got into a mess. I regard Mr. Jinnah as the man who has been called upon to correct the wrong ways into which the people of India have been led by the Congress under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. The Congress did a great service to the country so long as it followed the lines of critical co-operation and co-operative criticism towards the British Government laid down by Dadabhai Naoroji, Pheroze Shah Mehta, W. C. Bannerjee, Surrendra Nath Bannerjee, Ranade, Tilak and Gokhale. But it took a wrong turn when it adopted wholesale the non-co-operation programme of Mr. Gandhi and assumed an attitude of open hostility towards Britain and tried to infuse in the minds of the people a spirit of defiance of law and civil disobedience, more or less thinly veiled under a formula of truth and non-violence. Moreover by Mahatmafying Mr. Gandhi it appealed to the idolatrous superstitions of the Hindus and thus converted the religious adherence of the Hindu section of the population to the Mahatma into political support of his non-co-operation programme. While this strategy was of some avail in hustling the British Government to yield more and more to the demands of the Congress, it divided the people into Hindu or Hinduised sections and non-Hindu and non-Hinduised sections. And when the Government of India Act of 1935 was brought into force, the Congress clutched at power and exercised it in most provinces in the interests of the Hindu ideals and standards, ignoring the existence of non-Hindu classes and groups and over-riding their wishes and aspirations. In these circumstances a man was needed to stand upto the Congress and to tell its leaders that their organisation, however powerful numerically and financially, does not represent the whole of India, though it managed by appealing to the superstitious beliefs of the people to get a majority at the polls. I admire Mr. Jinnah and feel grateful to him on behalf of the Depressed Classes because in advocating the cause of Muslim India Mr. Jinnah is championing the claims of all classes who stand the danger of being crushed under the steam-roller of a Hindu majority acting under the inspiration and orders of Mr. Gandhi who has aptly

been nominated the dictator of the Congress. We know how narrow-minded Mr. Gandhi, in spite of all his cosmopolitan professions, can be under the spell and flattery of power-intoxicated followers like some of the Congress Ministers.

When I think of Mr. Jinnah, I am reminded of Dr. T. M. Nair, whom he resembled in many respects. Like him, he is a nationalist to the core. If he opposes the Congress, he knows also how and when to oppose the Government, more effectively than any Congress leader has the skill and the courage to do. Like him, he is endowed with the capacity of clear thinking and of independent judgement which will not yield to any cajolings by party leaders or Government officials. Like him he knows what his opponents are about or what they are scheming to do and also how to keep them at a distance and how to parry their attacks and counteract their cunning schemes. Like him he speaks out and writes in a direct and straightforward style, and there is no mistaking his meaning. Above all he has a sense of justice which will not sacrifice the interests of the poor and the weak to the arrogant claims of the rich and the strong.

Like Dr. Nair, he has done a signal service to the country by waking up to a full consciousness of its strength a community which has for a long time been content to follow the Congress withersoever it might lead. Muslims have this advantage over the non-Brahmins of South India that religiously they are a united people with their mosque and congregational worship unlike the Non-Brahmin Hindus of South India who follow the Brahmin at home and try to defy him abroad with no avail. The religious unity of the Muslims requires to be transformed into political unity, and Mr. Jinnah is achieving this national feat. If the Muslims of India are wise in their day and generation, they will follow his leadership with unconfused thinking and undivided will. "Follow Gandhi" is the slogan of the Congress, the slogan, and not merely the slogan but the working maxim and motto of Muslims should be "Follow Jinnah under the guidance of God".

May he live long to help the Indian people to come out triumphant in the conflict, which is being waged both in and outside India.

(*Deccan Times, Dated April* 1941.)

Ramaswamy Aiyar, C.P. Sir.
Ex-Dewan of Travancore.

I have known Mr. Jinnah for a considerable number of years and have always admired his definiteness of views and his selflessness in public affairs. He has consistently declined to utilise his public position for personal or private gain or preferment. Above all, he has been a conspicuous example of courage of conviction and he is a downright exponent of his point of view.

At a time when even eminent men are periodically forswearing their old policies, the spectacle of such a brave fighter is an inspiring one.

(*Illustrated Weekly of India, Dated December* 29, 1940).

Reddy, C. R. Dr.,
Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University.

Political differences should not lead to personal acrimony. There are elements in the character and career of Mr. Jinnah which command and ought to command universal esteem and admiration. He is the pride of India, and not the private possession of Muslims.

A straight thinker, straight fighter, he is anything but a subtlety shop, and in fact suspicious of subtle, supple politicians whose texts read one way and whose oft-needed commentaries in other and different ways according to exigencies. In dignity, racial and personal, he is an example and standard-bearer. He abhors the oily pose of mock modesty and ultra humility, and the rebound perhapl takes him to the other extreme, which, in any case, is the lesser and less widespread infirmity of Indians. In his autobiography Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru praises the manly bearing and profound politicas instinct of the Muslims. If an illustration of this were needed, I would say, "Look at Jinnah".

It is this defiant dignity that is the spring of Jinnah's unbending nationalism. Britain must hand over power to Indian leaders—not to careeristic Indian hands but leaders identified with ideas, policies and methods that are remoulding India nearer to the heart's content. Not positions, nor jobs, titles and emoluments, but transfer of power, real, substantial, adequate. The spiritual drive of the political missionary is his, for he wants nothing for himself and everything for his country on an equitable basis of distribution as between its component elements. True he does not prate of self-sacrifice nauseatingly —but then to the courageous and noble it is all self-realisation and self-fulfilment and no conscious sacrifice.

The great root good he has done to India is saving our politics from being clouded over, confused and confounded by metaphysics and moonshine. By his firm, commonsense stand he has saved the country from a fearful relapse into primitivism in its education, life, and outlook, of which it ran some risk. Truly has he been the saviour of Indian progress and modernism. If in conflict between the Ascetic-Primitive and Scientific-Modern, India has been left with a chance of achieving a fuller and more powerful civilisation in place of a bloodless, if perhaps blissful, charkha-isation, the credit and glory of it go in the main to Jinnah.

Satyamurti, S.
Ex-Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly.

I will not talk of Mr. Jinnah as a politician; but as a mere man. I will say that he is one of the best-dressed men I have met in India or elsewhere. He has polished manners, his speech is always effective, especially as quite often he holds the balance in the Indian Legislative Assembly. He is a politician to his finger tips. There are many traits in him which the young may well copy.

(*Illustrated Weekly of India, Dated December* 29, 1940.)

Vaidya, Suresh.

Unlike many I do not dismiss Mr. Jinnah out of hand. He does not annoy me. No one will convince me that he is in the pay of the British. A man with money cannot be bought, not by money anyway.

On the contrary on some occasions my silent thanks have gone out to him for his services, of a negative nature though they might be. There were precarious moments in our recent history when our leadership weakened, and was within inches of arriving at a compromise with Britain. In those moments Mr. Jinnah has come to our rescue. Can you imagine the mess we would be in today, had the Simla Conference succeeded? Perhaps as the Defence Minister it would have fallen upon Jawaharlal Nehru to order the dispatch of Indian troops to Indonesia, and may be Mr. Bhulabhai Desai would have had to consent to framing charges against the I. N. A.

I don't say things would have happened exactly this way, but the Congress would have found it very difficult to back out of its commitments to Britain. The British Government is neither philanthropic, nor altruistic. It is shrewd and clever. Pierre Laval was not only pro-German, but also anti-British. He was, however, executed by French Police. If and when Goering and Co., are hanged, the German executioners will have to do the job. The Police prefect of Rome under the Germans, M. Carruzo, was sentenced by a British military court but the shooting was carried out by Italian gendarmes. Should we not be grateful to Mr. Jinnah for saving us from such dangerous embarrassments?

(*The Bombay Sentinel Dated November* 17, 1945).

WHEN THE QUAID FACED AN ASSASSIN

By Hameed Zaman

The old-timers who have some knowledge of crimes in Bombay would easily recall the exploits of a detective with an athletic body, dark colour and an agility which could well match the speed and stamina of a gymnast.

Abdul Kadir Sheikh, who could easily disguise himself as a woman, a motor mechanic, a chowkidar or a push-cart vendor, was responsible for arresting many wanted criminals and unravelling many a mystery through his searching eyes and alert brain.

Well-known to the Bombay Press already, Kadir was suddenly catapulted into limelight when he was selected by the Quaid-i-Azam to investigate a case in which the Quaid was seriously hurt. He received cut wounds on his face and fingers when he tried to parry the knife attack of an assassin. His coat was slashed when the sharp edge of the knife hit his shoulder.

The dastardly attack was made on July 26, 1943 by one Rafiq Sabir Mazangvi. A crime which, if successful, would have changed the entire face of the sub-continent's politics, leaving over 13 crore Musalmans in the lurch.

"About 30, slim and well built with shaggy black hair and a pointed beard he had a distinctive look," recalled Mr. Kadir who was asked to hurry to the scene of the crime by the Police authorities. The chowkidar of the Quaid's residence in Mount Pleasant Road along with the driver of the Quaid was holding the assassin in his arms. The Secretary of the Quaid, Syed Ahmed, looked shaken and the Quaid's family doctor, Dr. Masina, was bandaging the wounds.

The assassin himself was in a state of delirium. Was he drunk? Was he just breaking down? Was it the reaction of his failure in a "mission" assigned to him? Was it the act of an individual? Was he a tool in the hands of other opposing faction? Was it the result of

any conspiracy? Or just a heinous crime committed by a deranged man?

"All these and many other questions suddenly came crowding into my mind, but I was not sure whether I would be able to handle a case of such dimensions. I was only a sub-inspector of police then, though not a beginner, nevertheless not a senior policeman either," explained Mr. Kadir. Now a retired Deputy Superintendent of Police, he was sitting in the drawing room of his Drigh Road bungalow. For four months devoted to investigation, registration of the case, court proceeding and till the final verdict delivered by Mr. Justice Blagden; Mr. Kadir saw the Quaid almost every day.

"When I look back, I find those days as the best treasures of my life. What an awe-inspiring personality, how much calm, cool and collected the Quaid was," he reminisced. Even after that attack, which could well prove fatal, the Quaid never asked for any police protection or agreed to have sufficient guards. He was the leader of the people and he knew that his people really loved him.

The news of the attack spread all over Bombay and within half an hour the Quaid's bungalow was thronged by relations, friends and officials of the Muslim League. Realising the effect it would have on the excited Muslim public, the Quaid issued a statement appealing to them to keep calm and peaceful. He asked even the servants not to hurt the assailant in anyway.

The case opened at the Bombay High Court of Justice in Fort. The Sessions Court, where Rafiq Sabir was to face trial, was jam-packed. Mr. Somjee, Counsel for the Crown, was attending the case accompanied by the Public Prosecutor. Dr Daruwalla was defending the accused.

Mr. Somjee opening the case, told the Court that "Mr. Jinnah is the President of the All-India Muslim League and as such was pestered with letters, postcards and telegrams from members of an organisation called the Khaksars. Allama Mashriqui, the leader of the Khaksars, had issued a manifesto criticising the attitude adopted

by Mr. Jinnah in relation to the Congress and had exhorted and ordered his followers to send thousands of letters, postcards and telegrams to Mr. Jinnah, asking him to see Mr. Gandhi. In consequence of this, Mr. Jinnah was flooded with letters and telegrams. These were handed over by Mr. Jinnah to the police. Some of the letters were threatening and in so many words expressed a desire to attack and kill him. The accused was a member of the Khaksars and bore the name of Jan Baz (a man willing to sacrifice his life)...On the 26th July at 1.45 p.m; the accused came to the house of Mr. Jinnah at Mount Pleasant Road and approached the watchman on duty at the door of the house asking for an interview with Mr. Jinnah...." Then Mr. Somjee went on giving details how the assailant made an attack. (Quotation are from a book, "Jinnah faces an Assassin," published by Thacker and Sons, Ltd. in 1943) soon after the attack. The name of the author is not given. Instead, it says "By a Barrister-at-Law." In fact, the book is written by Mr. Somjee himself who was a great admirer of the Quaid.)

After the lengthy process of cross-examination of various witnesses (including Noormahmed Alibhoy Maniar), the manager of the Musafarkhana where Rafiq had put up from the date of arrival in Bombay till July 13. Rafiq had lived there with a false name: Sadiq Ali Maulana Umruddin. Another witness was Ismail Dada Miya, a knife grinder who had sharpened the knife of the accused only two days before the incident. Then came Syed Jillani, the head of the Students' Organisation of the Khaksars, who helped Rafiq in obtaining a job for him. Mr. Justice Blagden summed up the case and the Jury retired only to return in about seven minutes and in reply to the question from the Clerk of the Crown, the foreman announced that the Jury unanimously found the accused guilty of attempted murder.

His Lordship accepting the verdict of the Jury addressed the accused as such: "... No country can be happy and prosperous which condones murder for political purposes or for any other purpose. The only result of condoning political murder is to substitute the rules of hooligans for the rules of reason as has happened in Germany and had led to this war. You and misguided people

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* In fact the author's name is Mr. A.A. Peerbhoy, Barister-at-Law.

like you have to be taught that fact by punishment and example of punishment. The least sentence which I feel I can properly impose upon you is five years' rigorous imprisonment."

That was the end of the trial. But the sidelights, which were never reported before, make an interesting study. The "human" in the Quaid was so closely observed by Mr. Kadir.

Soon after the attack, Kadir reached the place of crime and started taking notes of what the assailant, Rafiq Sabir, was saying. Sometimes he was crying, sometimes he was just laughing. Sometimes he was addressing Allama Mashraqi in monologue. He was also dropping names with certain details etc. Mr. Kadir went on taking copious notes. The Quaid noticed this and inquired who he was and what was his name. When the Commissioner of Bombay Police, Mr. Butler, arrived on the scene the Quaid said "Mr. Butler, I want Mr. Kadir to investigate my case and if you have any objection let me know, I'll take up the matter to the higher quarters."

That really surprised our excited detective. Why me? I am not that senior? Why me? "You are good enough and now listen to me, tell me all the details of your investigation and do not let your information leak out, as it involves complicated politics," the Quaid told him. The Quaid reposed so much faith in Kadir in this matter that Mr. Butler, the Commissioner asked: "Mr. Kadir, are you related to Mr. Jinnah?"

"The Quaid insisted that I should not use the word Sir so much in my conversation with him. Instead I could say Janab if it pleased me," narrated Mr. Kadir, stressing the sincerity and humility of such a great leader.

According to Mr. Kadir the Quaid was fatherly in his attitude. "You are a policeman so never beat the accused, for in this way you would never get the truth out of him, why not treat him gently and see how it works," advised the Quaid and added, "One thing more, be honest, you will be the most satisfied and happy man in the world."

Referring to this particular case, the Quaid said: "I do not care what happens with Rafiq, I have no personal enmity with the accused. I am concerned with one thing: the Musalmans of India. They are anxious to know what happened and they must know. The case at least should be properly reported in the Press so that people would know the details."

While in the witness box the Quaid almost re-enacted the drama: how he was attacked, complete with gestures, actions and even expressions. It was just a stage performance and the presentation was so perfect that it looked convincing.

When I was to take leave the Quaid said: "I see Pakistan coming and if it does, do not serve here for a single day, you will never be happy," recalled Mr. Kadir.

He migrated to Pakistan soon after Independence.

Morning News.

THE RISE OF PAKISTAN

A NATIONAL CONSCIENCE BORN OF RESPONSIBILITIES

DISTRUST OF THE INDIAN DOMINION

From our own Correspondent in Pakistan

Less than two years ago Pakistan was only an idea, nurtured and fought for by one man. Few believed it would reach fruition; many regarded it as a political weapon to win increased rights for the Muslim minority in an independent but unpartitioned India. Even now many people in the subcontinent have not realized that at midnight on August 14, 1947, two instead of one self-governing Dominions came into being.

The idea had borne fruit, but it was still in many respects only an idea. The Pakistan Cabinet arrived in Karachi for the independ-

ence celebrations without an administration. Later the secretaries of departments turned up, many junior in service and without experience of executive responsibility. Administrative Officers and their clerks came later still in small and mostly unorganized groups. Then long afterwards, the tools of administration flowed in: the files, archives, type-writers, and communication equipment. They are still arriving. Those who had supported Mr. Jinnah and only dimly grasped the implications of his idea of Pakistan when translated into land, people, natural resources, and industrial potential, were in most instances appalled by the task which confronted them. They took over a land divided into two by the land-mass of the new India, with no direct intercourse, except by sea around the peninsula. The two segments have a wireless link, but for most purposes communication is dependent upon the goodwill of the other dominion. They adopted a population divided in language, culture, social habits and degrees of development, and provincial groups more closely related to their neighbours in adjacent areas of the Indian Union than to their new compatriots in other parts of the Dominion.

The area of Pakistan is 233,100 square miles, much of it desert and mountain. It has no heavy industries and as yet no coal or oil worth taking into account. It is an agricultural country, but vast regions have been lost to the desert by erosion. An undeveloped land divided in two was expected, but not a truncated State, with borders drawn up by political compromise, following no obvious natural barriers, and often unknown to those charged with their protection. Pakistan means "Land of the Pure". It was often incorrectly said that its first three letters were chosen from the initials of Punjab, Assam, and Kashmir. The Punjab has been partitioned, Assam, except for the Sylhet district, is part of India, and Kashmir has acceded to the other Dominion. It was vaguely believed that the Land of the Pure would at least be uncontaminated by Hindusim, but of a population of 65,600,000 more than 17m. are Hindus. Only the Sikhs have gone; nearly 40m. Muslims remain in India.

A GOING CONCERN

In spite of this, Pakistan is a nation conscious of its nationhood.

Visitors, especially those coming here from India, are immediately conscious of this awareness of nationality, which is rooted not only in religious and economic but also in many other common interests. Islam has been described as an individual experience creative of a social order with implicit legal concepts. An Islamic State is not necessarily a political and social democracy, but the majority of Muslims here are conscious of their responsibilities to a community which is the raw material of nationhood.

Economically and financially, the partition of India was for Pakistan not so much partition as secession. It became overnight the largest Muslim State in the world and, when the restrained shorting and tumult died down, found that it had to start from the beginning. The machinery of government was hastily improvised and many essential components did not exist. Adversity can be exhilarating, and in this case was inspiring. Although for many years to come Pakistan will depend, consciously or otherwise, on the co-operation of the Commonwealth and on the efforts and loyalty of its British Civil servants and service commanders, the knowledge that the fate of their new-born country ultimately rests upon their own efforts is shared by most Pakistanis, and their response is good.

Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan's indictment of India before the Security Council is not necessarily only a deviating point or part of a political manoeuvre. Rightly or wrongly, every Pakistani believes that the sovereignty of his country is contested by India. He fears that the larger Dominion is determined to destroy Pakistan and that the alleged systematic sabotage of the partition scheme, the stoppage of essential requirements such as coal and rail transport, the deliberate withholding of arms and equipment, and the massacre of Muslims in East Punjab are all part of a prepared but veiled plan to enforce reunion. That probably as many Hindus and Sikhs as Muslims were killed in the West Punjab is forgotten. These beliefs are as contentious as is India's charge that the Pakistan Government planned and assisted the tribal invasion of Kashmir, but are widely held. The result is an incensed but cementing nationalism, which is at present the country's greatest asset.

The speeches of Indian statesmen sometimes appear to indicate that they find it psychologically difficult to conceive of Pakistan as a separate State. The belief that the Muslims would sooner or later "come to their senses" and return to the Indian fold was widespread on the other side of the border. Nearly every Indian was convinced that Pakistan could not survive without Hindu capital, Hindu business acumen, and Hindu industrial skill. Yet in spite of maladjustment in the fields of labour and finance, Pakistan is thus far a going concern. Most of the Hindu clerks have gone, but the Government Departments produce a stream of directives, control orders, ordinances, and restrictions as relentless and bewildering as any in the British armoury. Some trains still run on time. Food is distributed more fairly and in greater quantities than in India. Irrigation ditches are full and well tended, and in the West Punjab, in spite of riots and exchange of populations, the recent wheat sowing was a record.

MR. JINNA'S PRESTIGE

The armed services, the quality of whose men cannot be questioned, are being moulded into training cadres and unified formations. The police are recovering from the dereliction of duty which besmirched the records of the forces of both Dominions during the Punjab riots. Law and order is maintained except in a few areas troubled by tribesmen. Unlike East Punjab, law in West Punjab is now enforced by the police and not by the military. Everywhere there is evidence of a fairly smooth-running administration.

Except for the forms and the forces, these services are administered by the provincial governments, or public utility companies, or departments which existed before partition. Established departments' routine needs little impetus from above—and no change of government has been known to stop the circulation of files in this country. With due regard for the efforts of the few men responsible for its direction, the gravest weaknesses of the Dominion are to be found in the offices of the central administration. They work extremely hard. Their tasks are immense and extremely complex. Few have had experience of government; they have to create the ma-

chinery while they are learning to handle it. Because Pakistan has to be developed and aspirations may be realized, it has to assume fresh responsibilities which would tax her most experienced administrators, while widening the scope of departments too inexperienced and understaffed at the higher levels to conduct routine business.

Most Pakistanis unfairly criticise their own Government for its mediocrity, for it certainly lacks members with imagination and initiative to inspire the people. Only the Governor-General has the required personality. Mr. Jinnah, or the Quaid-i-Azam, Great Leader as he is universally known here, is to most Pakistanis the Government. He is extremely popular, and the young especially almost worship him. His portrait is found every where—he has a complete monopoly in calendar illustrations—and his hand is seen in everything. He is apparently the head, or titular head of every voluntary ogranisation from the Refugee Fund to the Boys Scouts. This universal popularity, this omnipresence, suggests dictatorship, an impression which the continued recess of the Constituent and Legislative Assembly tends to support. It has not sat since August 14.

Mr. Jinnah is as fervid a nationalist as the rawest member of his National Guard, yet he has been wise enough to enlist the aid of non-Pakistani administrators and senior service officers. In most departments and in all services, in public utility companies and advisory posts, British officials can be found. Mr. Jinnah may not be a dictator, but he is at present indispensable, and the prayer of every Pakistani is that he will live until Pakistan becomes an efficient and prosperous State.

Sunday Times, London.

SHE MOTHERED THE FATHER OF THE NATION

By

Prof. Mrs. Rafia Shareef, M. A.

The reproduction of this article from "Freedom" dated March 4, 1949, *contributed by late Mrs. Rafia Shareefuddin Pirzada serves to illustrate callousness of Hector Bolitho in dealing with his subject, as pin-pointed in the write-up' 'Quaid-i-Azam's biographies" appearing elsewhere in these pages.*

—M.A.H.

On the 11th of September, 1948, when the mantle of gloom fell heavily on the murkiness of the night and when the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-Continent were plunged into disconsolate grief, a lone lady, tall, grey-haired and clad in black, sat near the bed on which the eyes of the entire world seemed to be focused.

In Quaid-i-Azam's death Miss Fatima Jinnah lost more than a brother and a leader—she lost the one man who had kept her company all his life. For her it was a break from the past. Indeed, on that night she must have felt orphaned for the first time in her life. Although her parents had died years ago, the constant attention which Quaid-i-Azam bestowed on his loving sister must have helped her to bridge the gulf created by the loss of her parents.

But just as Quaid-i-Azam was in the place of a father to her she was in turn in the place of a mother to him. It is doubtful whether Quaid-i-Azam ever owed so much to any living person in the world as he did to his painstaking sister. The Quaid-i-Azam never missed an opportunity of speaking feelingly about her. It may be recalled that on 9th August 1947 replying to a toast proposed to him and his sister, at a dinner given to them by the late Mr. Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah at the Karachi Club Annex, the Quaid-i-Azam said :

QUAID - I - AZAM AT A PRESS CONFERENCE



Left to right Mrs. Rafia Sharifuddin Pirzada Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan of "*Inquilab*", Bombay, Mr. G. H. Thaver Mr. Aziz Beg

QUAID - I - AZAM & MISS FATIMA JINNAH
with members of Bombay District Muslim Students' Federation



Back row Mr. Ahmad B. Khan, Mr. A. K. Sumar,
(*Left to right*) Mr. Husain Beg Mohamed Mr. Sharifuddin Pirzada

"During all these years of worry and hard work my sister was like a bright ray of light and hope, whenever I came back home and met her. Anxieties would have been much greater and my health much worse but for the restraint imposed by her. She never grudged —she never grumbled. Let me reveal to you something that you probably do not know. There was a time with we were face to face with a great revolution. We were ready and prepared to face bullets and even death. She never said a word but on the contrary she encouraged me. For solid ten years she stood by me and sustained me."

These are not the words which any brother could say about his sister. These are the words which only Quaid-i-Azam could use for his sister.

It was natural, therefore, that after the Quaid-i-Azam's death, Miss Fatima Jinnah was disconsolate for a number of months retreating with a grief-laden heart into the seclusion of the Artillery House. But then slowly the faith returned—the unshakeable faith in the message of her illustrious brother. And with the return of this faith we today find her once more amongst us working as zealously as ever before for the betterment of the masses whom the Quaid-i-Azam has lifted out of slavery. I may even make bold to say that in the Pakistan of today when power-politics hold an unbridled sway, she is the one person who is working selflessly for the causes which Quaid-i-Azam had made his own.

Born on 31st July 1893, Miss Jinnah received her early education in Karachi and later on in Bombay. In the beginning of 1904, her father was not keeping good health and had to shift to Ratnagiri for a change. There while convalescing he initiated her to the study of English. Later on she joined Bandra Convent as a boarder. And thereby hangs a story.

The people of her community in those days could not be reconciled to the idea of her joining the Convent as a boarder. There was a regular hue and cry. Miss Jinnah became the target of the wagging tongues of gossip-loving dowagers. It was not a smooth sailing. Any other girl under the circumstances would have lost her

nerve and abandoned the idea of continuing her education. But with the Quaid-i-Azam by her side, Miss Jinnah could face the ordeal with courage. The Quaid-i-Azam himself went to the Convent and accompanied her on an inspection round of the premises of the school. Later on he used to visit her every Sunday, travelling all the way from Bombay to Bandra on the horse back. She used to spend her vacations with the Quaid-i-Azam.

That was the beginning of a life-long companionship. Even later when she used to stay with him he was very attentive to her and looked after her needs and comforts with the concern of a father. For instance, he was anxious that while he went to court she should not feel lonely at home, and so he used to leave her at his other sister's (Mrs. Peerbhoy's) house while going to court and used to pick her up again on his way back, after which they used to go together for a drive.

There was, however, a short break in this companionship when the Quaid-i-Azam got married. But this break did not mean any strangeness between the two. Miss Jinnah stayed in a different house from 1917 to 1929, but even when she stayed away Mr. and Mrs. Jinnah always expected her for lunch every Sunday, and she never belied their expectations. In 1925 when Mr. and Mrs. Jinnah left for England they left their little daughter, Deena, with Miss Jinnah. From 1930, she again went to reside with Quaid-i-Azam and could be separated from him only after his death.

The Quaid-i-Azam had so much faith in her that he did not keep any secrets from her. He freely discussed every problem with her. In fact, he never issued a statement until it was read by her. He always used to ask his secretaries to read out the draft of the statement before "the full council", by which he meant his sister and himself. It is this training which she got under the Quaid-i-Azam which stands her in good stead today.

ADDRESS OF QUAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

TO THE HOSTEL PARLIAMENT OF ISMAIL YUSUF COLLEGE JOGESHWARI, (BOMBAY) ON 1ST FEBRUARY, 1943.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was invited to address the Hostel Parliament of Ismail Yusuf College, Bombay on 1st February, 1943. The Hall was packed with the students when the Quaid, accompained by Miss Fatima Jinnah, entered and was given a standing ovation. Dr. M. B. Rehman, the Principal of the College, presided. While welcoming the Quaid, the Principal said that "Mr. Jinnah is one of the greatest Sons of India". The Prime Minister of the Hostel Parliament, Mr. Anwar Harris, then welcomed the Chief Guest on behalf of the members of the Parliament.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah began his speech by remarking humorously :

"General Smuts was invited to address the British Parliament and you have invited me to address your Parliament. That was unprecedented in the history of British Parliament and this is unprecedented in the history of your Parliament. Islam is not only a mere religion but a complete code of life. Islam means peace with God and peace with man. The entire life of Muslim nation whether it may be social, cultural, political or economic is governed by Islam. In Pakistan we shall have a state which will be run according to the principles of Islam. It will have its cultural, political and economic structure based on the principles of Islam. The non-muslims need not fear because of this, for fullest justice will be done to them, they will have their full cultural, religious, political and economic rights safeguarded. As a matter of fact they will be more safeguarded than in the present day so-called democratic parliamentary form of Government."

Mr. Jinnah asked the muslim students to become the members of the Muslim Students Federation, and said :

"In this country we should have our own organisation, although we always want to cultivate friendly relations with our sister

communities. Muslim League and Muslim India is not fighting for any religious issue. Religion is embedded in our very soul and not only in our body. They can take our bodies but not our souls. Muslim League is not a communal body. It is a national body because it is fighting for the national rights of the Muslims. But what about the communalism of the Hindus, who have got hundreds of castes... The Muslims are a nation in themselves according to any definition given in any of the dictionaries of the world. We have got our own history, our own heroes, our own religion, our own architecture, our own music, our own culture, our own calendar and our own names and our own outlook on life and of life. We are entirely different from Hindus in every respect. This nation of 100 millions must have a territory of its own, a national State, where it will be able to live and develop according to its own cultural heritage. India has never been a nation in the remotest past. It has not been so even geographically. The Hindus were the first raiders and conquerors of India, then came the Muslims and then the Britishers. The unity of India has been imposed by the despotic and beaurocratic Government of the British. But now we want to have a truly representative democratic Government not for the Hindus only but both for the Hindus and Muslims nations. The modern democratic form of Government is not suitable to the geniu of the Indian People. People have begun to realise this and now they want coalition Government. They have begun to realise that hundred million Musalmans can never be treated as a minority. The Hindu Mahasabha speaks in a clear language but the Congress leaders are trained men and to them democracy means Hindu Raj. The main-stream of their activities has been the dream of Hindu revival. The dream of Hindu domination must be given up once and for ever. We want a true democracy in accordance with Islam and not a Parliamentary Government of the Western or Congress type. I cannot solve the deadlock because the Hindus have never asked me to solve the deadlock. Let us agree among ourselves and present a united demand to the British Government. If that demand is refused then it will not be an internecine war but a truly national war. I pray God may help us."

Orient Press Ageney

"THE TIMES OF INDIA" dated February 2, 1943 carried the following report :

"Pakistan is the only way to solve the Indian problem, and it is the quickest way too of getting the freedom both of Hindus and Muslims", declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, speaking on Monday at a meeting held under the auspices of the Ismail College Students' Parliament at the College at Jogeshwari.

Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah continued, only meant that the Muslims who by their culture, religion and way of life constituted an entirely different nation from the Hindus, should have a national state territory of their own. The Muslims wanted only a fourth of the vast area of the country to live their lives in their own way. The Hindus were opposed to that demand because they wanted the whole country for themselves. Muslims would be wiped out if they had to live as a minority nation under Hindu majority rule.

Mr. Jinnah added that the Hindus had not ruled India for the last 1000 years. For 800 years, they were under Muslim rule, and for the past 200 years both Hindus and Muslims were under British rule. The Muslims were slaves only for two hundred years, but the Hindus had been slaves for 1000 years. He wanted the Hindus to abandon the dream of being ever able to rule the Muslims.

In Pakistan they had an opportunity of living in friendly and harmonious relations with the Muslims. Was it not wise for the Hindus, even as businessmen, to seize the opportunity and tell the Muslims to take one fourth, and wish them God-speed? He was prepared to give a solemn assurance that the Muslims would treat the minorities even better than any other civilised Government treated their minorities, because that was the injunction of their highest religious authority—the QORAN.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Mr. Jinnah declared that he did not want parliamentary democracy, nor any autocratic or despotic form of Government. He wanted a PEOPLES' government, true democracy according to Islam. Real democracy was entirely foreign to Hinduism. The Hindus and the Congress talked of democracy with a view to securing their rule over the Muslims. As a result of that ambition, obsession and dream, they were today witnessing a mass civil disobedience movement. That movement could never succeed so long as large communities, like the Muslims, non-Brahmins and depressed classes, were opposed to it and regarded it as a war against them.

He could not accept the Congress plea to leave the communal question till independence was won. The proper way was to come to a settlement on the communal issue first and then make a united demand to the British Government to hand over power. That would deprive the British Government of the strongest argument that, though they were willing and ready to hand over power, they did not know to whom to hand over power. If the British rejected such a united demand, then would be the time to start a united struggle under one authority and one command throughout the country.